ALEXANDRIA.
THE GOLDEN CITY

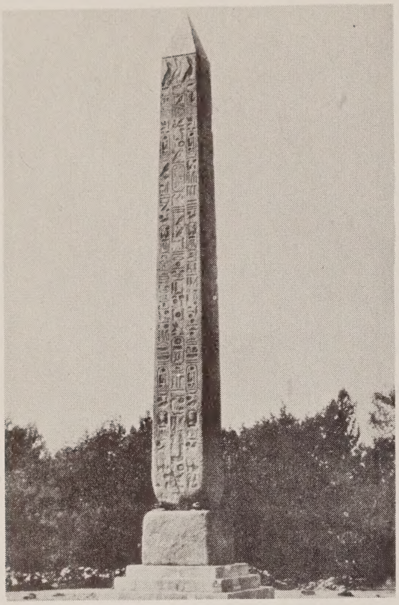
H. T. DAVIS

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
OCT 6 1958
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

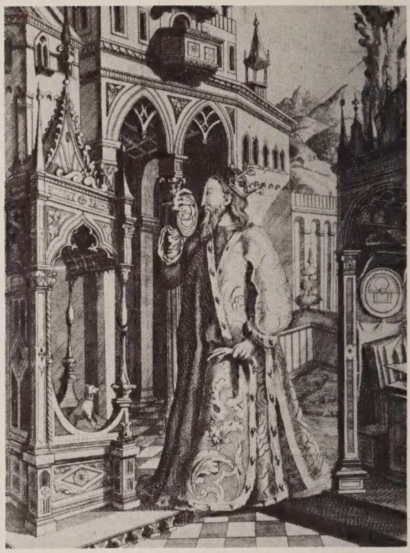
DT73
.A4D26
v. 2

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

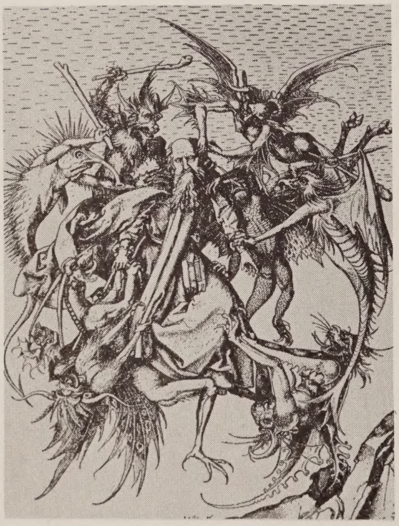
https://archive.org/details/alexandriagolden02davi



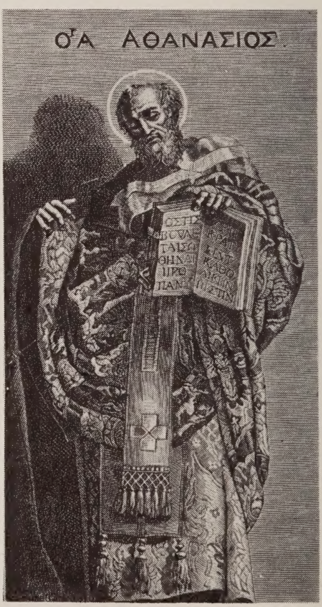
CLEOPATRA'S "NEEDLE"
(Central Park, New York)



CLAUDIUS PTOLEMY
(From an Old Print)



ST. ANTHONY
TORTURED BY DEMONS
(Designed by Martin Schonguer)


ὉΑ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ.

BISHOP ATHANASIUS
(From a Picture by Domenichino)

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
OCT 6 195
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

ALEXANDRIA, THE GOLDEN CITY

By

HAROLD T. DAVIS
Northwestern University

In Two Volumes

Volume II -- CLEOPATRA'S CITY

THE PRINCIPIA PRESS OF ILLINOIS, INC.,
Evanston, Illinois.

Copyright, 1957
By
The Principia Press of Illinois, Inc.

Printed in the United States of America by the
Charles W. Miller Co., Evanston, Illinois.

DEDICATION OF VOLUME TWO

To Vera Megowen,

Whose Interest in Cleopatra took her to Alexandria, and Whose Entertaining Soirées Were, On Several Occasions, Devoted to the Memory of the Egyptian Queen, this Story of CLEOPATRA'S CITY is Dedicated.

CONTENTS

VOLUME TWO — CLEOPATRA'S CITY

CHAPTER 10. THE ROMANCE OF CLEOPATRA

1. The Timonium. . . . . 237.
2. Beginnings of the Romance. . . . . 239.
3. Cleopatra and Julius Caesar. . . . . 241.
4. The Siege of the Royal Palace. . . . . . . 245.
5. Cleopatra in Rome. . . . . 249.
6. The Assassination of Julius Caesar. . . . . . 252.
7. Marc Antony, the Man of the Hour. . . . . . 254.
8. The Civil War. . . . . 257.
9. The Meeting of Antony and Cleopatra. . . . . . 259.
10. The Troubles of Antony. . . . . 262.
11. The Battle of Actium. . . . . 266.
12. The Death of Antony. . . . . 269.
13. The Fate of Cleopatra. . . . . 272.
14. The End of the Romance. . . . . 274.

CHAPTER 11. ROMAN INFLUENCES

1. The Triumph of Octavius. . . . . 277.
2. How a Republic Becomes an Empire. . . . . . 280.
3. The Age of Riots. . . . . 282.
4. The Alexandrian Tumults. . . . . 285.
5. Civil War in Alexandria. . . . . 291.
6. Alexandria Becomes a King-Maker. . . . . . 294.
7. The Massacre by Caracalla. . . . . 296.
8. Marcus Aurelius Visits Alexandria. . . . . . 297.
9. Further Adventures in King-Making. . . . . . 299.
10. The Story of Queen Zenobia. . . . . 301.
11. The Persecutions of the Christians. . . . . . 305.

CHAPTER 12. THE NEOPLATONISTS.

1. The Metaphysical World. . . . . 309.
2. The Influence of Philo. . . . . 311.
3. Plotinus and the Neoplatonists. . . . . . . 315.

4. The Teachings of Porphyry. . . . . 319.
5. Iamblichus, the Mystic. . . . . 320.
6. The School of Proclus. . . . . 321.
7. The Vast Influence of the Movement. . . . . . 324.

CHAPTER 13. WHO IS THE TRUE GOD?

1. The Five Statues in the Emperor's Shrine. . . . . 325.
2. The Romance of Alexander. . . . . 327.
3. The Orphic Mysteries. . . . . 330.
4. Father Abraham. . . . . 334.
5. The Story of Apollonius of Tyana. . . . . . . 335.
6. The Power of the Fifth Diety. . . . . 341.
7. The Development of the Christian Church. . . . . 343.

CHAPTER 14. THE STORY OF ATHANASIUS

1. The Exile in the Desert. . . . . 346.
2. The End of Bishop George. . . . . 349.
3. The Youth and Training of Athanasius. . . . . . 353.
4. Beginnings of the Arian Controversy. . . . . . 355.
5. The Famous Council of Nicaea. . . . . 358.
6. The Crimes of Athanasius. . . . . 360.
7. The First Exile of the Bishop. . . . . 362.
8. The Life of the Anchorites. . . . . 364.
9. St. Anthony, Patriarch of the Monks. . . . . . 367.
10. The Second Exile and its Termination. . . . . . 370.
11. The New Persecution. . . . . 372.
12. Julian Deposes His Bishop. . . . . 373.
13. Athanasius Retires to the Country. . . . . . . 373.
14. The Final Vindication. . . . . 374.

CHAPTER 15. LATER HELLENISTIC WRITERS

1. The Career of Lucian. . . . . 375.
2. Easy Lessons in Oratory. . . . . 378.
3. The Sale of the Philosophies. . . . . 381.
4. Alexander, the False Prophet. . . . . 384.
5. Lucian as a Teller of Tales. . . . . 386.
6. The Origin of the Novel. . . . . 388.

7. The Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon. . . . . . 389.
8. Adventures in Alexandria. . . . . 393.
9. The End of the Story. . . . . 395.
10. The *Ethiopica* of Heliodorus. . . . . 397.
11. The Romance of Daphnis and Chloe. . . . . . . 400.
12. Other Contributions to Hellenistic Literature. . . . 403.

CHAPTER 16. DIOPHANTUS AND HIS MESSAGE

1. The Sailors and the Coconuts. . . . . 407.
2. Diophantus, the Father of Algebra. . . . . . . 409.
3. The Significance of Algebra. . . . . 410.
4. The Theory of Integers. . . . . 412.
5. Later Alexandrian Mathematicians. . . . . 413.
6. The Mathematical Achievement of the Museum. . . . 414.

CHAPTER 17. HYPATIA, DAUGHTER OF THEON

1. A New Visit to the Golden City. . . . . 416.
2. We Visit the Serapium. . . . . 420.
3. Dinner with Theon. . . . . 420.
4. A Trip to the Observatory of Claudius Ptolemy. . . . 423.
5. The Earthquake. . . . . 425.
6. The Fanaticism of Bishop Theophilus. . . . . . . 427.
7. The Destruction of the Serapium. . . . . 429.
8. Hypatia, Defender of the Ancient Culture. . . . . . 430.
9. The Violence and Bigotry of Bishop Cyril. . . . . . 434.
10. Synesius, the Pupil of Hypatia. . . . . 436.
11. The Death of Hypatia. . . . . 438.
12. The Last Days of Pagan Culture. . . . . 440.

CHAPTER 18. THE END OF THE STORY

1. The Decline of Alexandria. . . . . 442.
2. The Drama Begins at Mecca. . . . . 443.
3. The Birth of Mohammed. . . . . 445.
4. Mohammed Marries Khadija. . . . . 448.
5. The Vision of Gabriel. . . . . 449.
6. The Trials of the New Prophet. . . . . 450.
7. The Demand for Miracles. . . . . 452.

8. The Conversion of Omar. . . . . 453.
9. The Hegira from Mecca. . . . . 455.
10. The Reception at Medina. . . . . 457.
11. The Battle of Beder. . . . . 458.
12. The March of Islam. . . . . 459.
13. Chosroës, King of Persia. . . . . 460.
14. The Successors of Mohammed. . . . . 462.
15. The Conquest of Egypt by Amru. . . . . 463.
16. The Capture of Alexandria. . . . . 464.
17. The Great Library is Destroyed and Alexandria Dies. . . 466.
18. In Which History has the Last Word. . . . . . . 467.

APPENDIX

Bibliography and Notes. . . . . 475.

INDEXES

Index of Names. . . . . 505.
Index of Subjects. . . . . 519.

ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, AND FIGURES

Frontispiece
Caesar Meets Cleopatra . . . . 243.
Banquet Scene . . . . 251.
The Protagonists of the Romance of Cleopatra. . . . . . 275.
Father Nile. . . . . 283.
List of Roman Emperors . . . . 286-287.
Map of Alexandria in the 3rd-5th Centuries. . . . . . . 419.
Hypatia in her Study . . . . 431.
Map of Arabia . . . . 447.
Odaenathus and Zenobia . . . . 471.
The Quadrature of the Parabola . . . . 483-484.

ALEXANDRIA, THE GOLDEN CITY

VOLUME TWO

CLEOPATRA'S CITY

CHAPTER 10

THE ROMANCE OF CLEOPATRA

1. *The Timonium*

IF ONE WILL EXAMINE THE MAP of Alexandria he will see jutting out into the Great Harbor from a point just beyond the Temple of Poseidon and to the west of the Island of Antirrhodus a small tongue of land. Upon an enlarged area at the extremity of this mole there was once a royal lodge called the *Timonium,* built by Marc Antony, says Strabo, "when, forsaken by his friends, he sailed away to Alexandria after his misfortune at Actium, having chosen to live the life of Timon the rest of his days, which he intended to spend in solitude from all those friends."

It will be recalled by the reader that Timon was a famous misanthrope who dwelt in Athens during the time of the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B. C.). Aristophanes and other comic poets have more than once alluded to his eccentricities, and his life was made the basis of Shakespeare's play *Timon of Athens* as well as one of the dialogues of Lucian. Our knowledge of his life comes principally from Plutarch who wrote as follows[1]:

"He avoided and repelled the approaches of every one, but embraced with kisses and the greatest show of affection Alcibiades, then in his hot youth. And when Apemantus was astonished, and demanded the reason, he replied that he knew this young man would one day do infinite mischief to the Athenians. He never admitted any one into his company, except at times this Apemantus, who was of the same sort of temper, and was an imitator of his way of life. At the celebration of the festival of the flagons, these two kept the feast together, and Apemantus saying to him, 'What a pleasant party, Timon!' 'It would be,' he answered, 'if you were away.' One day he got up in a full assembly on the speaker's place, and when there was a dead silence and great wonder at so unusual a sight, he said, 'Ye men of Athens, I have a little plot of ground, and on it grows a fig-tree, on which many citizens have been pleased to hang themselves; and now, having resolved to build in that place, I wished to announce it publically, that any of you who may be desirous, may go and hang yourselves before I cut it down.' He died and was buried in Halae, near the sea, where it so happened that, after his burial, a land-slip took place on the point of the shore, and the sea, flowing in, surrounded his tomb and made it inaccessible to the foot of man. It bore the inscription: —

---

[1] *Antony,* Chap. 70.

Here am I laid, my life of misery done,
Ask not my name, I curse you every one.

And this epitaph was made by himself while yet alive; That which is more generally known is by Callimachus: —

Timon, the misanthrope, am I below.
Go, and revile me, traveller, only go."

Whence came this savage misanthropy of Timon? "You might say that he was ruined by kind-heartedness and philanthropy and compassion on all those who were in want," says Lucian, "but in reality it was senselessness and folly and lack of discrimination in regard to his friends. He did not perceive that he was showing kindness to ravens and wolves, and while so many birds of prey were tearing his liver, the unhappy man thought that they were his friends and sworn brothers, who enjoyed their rations only on account of the good-will they bore him. But when they had thoroughly stripped his bones and gnawed them clean, and had very carefully sucked out whatever marrow there was in them, they went away and left him like a dry tree with severed roots, no longer recognizing him or looking at him — why should they, pray? — or giving him help or making him presents in their turn. So leaving the city out of shame, he has taken to the pick and the coat of skin, as you see, and tills the soil for hire, brooding crazily over his wrongs because the men whom he enriched pass him by disdainfully without ever knowing whether his name is Timon or not."

But it is not the life of Timon that we propose to write, — nay, rather, the drama of Cleopatra who, through the persons of Julius Caesar and Marc Antony, sought security for her kingdom and the succession of her son, Caesarion, upon the throne of his ancestors. The curtain of the last act was raised in the Timonium where, late in the year 31 B. C., Antony retired to shut himself away from the sight of men and, perhaps more justly, from the results of his own folly. From this sanctuary he was finally to emerge at the last moment when, the tide of his misfortunes, running at its full, swept on to overwhelm him and the luckless queen who had cast her lot with him.

2. *Beginnings of the Romance.*

In order that we may understand the events which led finally to the drama of the Timonium, let us begin at the beginning when Cleopatra, the heroine of our adventures, was a little girl. Born either in 69 or 68 B. C., Cleopatra was about seventeen years of age when her father, Ptolemy XIII, Auletes, died, leaving behind him a vast debt accumulated in his vain trafficking with Rome, a disgusted country, and four children, — two boys and two girls. In his will he left the rule of Egypt jointly to his eldest son, Ptolemy XIV, and to his eldest daughter, Cleopatra. And he called all the gods and all the treaties which he had made with the Roman people to witness this testament.

But as one might readily surmise this joint rule of brother and sister did not work smoothly. It now happened that there was in the court at that time a eunuch by the name of Potheinus, who, acting in the capacity of a prime minister, saw in the situation opportunity for himself. He was apparently abetted in his intrigues by Achillas, an Egyptian, who commanded the king's troops, and by Theodotus of Chios, a professional teacher of rhetoric, who tutored the young Ptolemy. In a short time trouble was created between the two rulers and the young Ptolemy promptly declared himself the sole sovereign of Egypt. Since in those dark days, and perhaps even in our own scarcely more enlightened times, the best way to secure undisturbed tenure is to remove political opponents, the position of Cleopatra became one of great peril. She immediately fled to Syria and there used her influence to raise an army for the assertion of her rights.

And thus it came about that, upon the eastern borders of Egypt in the neighborhood of Pelusium, there were encamped the two opposing armies of Cleopatra and her brother in the year 48 B. C. at the dramatic moment when Pompey had met disastrous defeat at the hands of Julius Caesar in the great battle of Pharsalus in Thessaly, and was fleeing for his life toward Egypt. Since Pompey had been the staunch friend of Ptolemy Auletes in his time of trouble, the fleeing consul had every reason to believe that he would receive a welcome from the new ruler of Egypt.

But when it became known in the camp of the king that Pompey was off shore asking for harborage a council was held in which Theodotus pointed out that the conquering Caesar must now be reckoned with. He argued that the best way to gain his friendship was by the assassination of the defeated enemy. This evil counsel finally prevailed and the dark task was assigned to the crafty Achillas and two Roman soldiers who were in the king's army. One of these, Septimius by name, had at an earlier time held a command under Pompey.

On the assurance that the water was too shallow for the approach of his large galley, Pompey was persuaded to enter a small boat and be rowed to shore. He recognized Septimius as one of his former soldiers, but when he mentioned this the man merely returned a surly nod. Just as the boat reached the shore and Pompey was on the point of disembarking with the help of his freedman Philip, Septimius drew his sword and stabbed him in the back. Pompey uttered no word at this, but drew his mantle over his face, groaned, and fell to the bottom of the boat where he was speedily killed.

From the deck of the galley Cornelia, the faithful wife of Pompey, had witnessed this cruel deed and she set up a cry which was heard by those on shore. Word was immediately given to flee and the ship sped swiftly away out of reach of the treacherous counselors of the king. But on shore the head of Pompey was promptly severed from his body and the remains of the great general cast into the sea. In a short time, however, the waves washed the body back upon the sands where it was found by the freedman Philip, who, with the help of an old Roman soldier built for it a funeral pyre on the beach. The next morning, Lucius Lentulus, one of Pompey's generals, who had not heard of these events, arrived in a second galley. As he was being rowed ashore he noticed the remains of the pyre and said: "Who is this who has found his end here? Possibly even thou, Pompey, the Great!" He also was immediately killed as he set his feet upon the shore.

But revenge was soon to fall upon those who had taken part in these outrageous murders. Four days later Julius Caesar, hotly pursuing his enemy, arrived before Alexandria. He heard there of the death of Pompey, and Theodotus appeared before him with the head of Pompey and his signet ring. Stunned at these symbols, Caesar turned aside his head and wept. He then dismissed Theodotus with violent language. This rascal lost no time in fleeing from Egypt, and after a fugitive's existence for several years, he was recognized by Marcus Brutus and crucified for his part in the crime.

3. *Cleopatra and Julius Caesar.*

What Caesar's original purpose was in coming to Egypt except to capture Pompey we do not know, but when he observed the events that were taking place he decided to remain for a while in Alexandria. As soon as he was reinforced by the appearance of two legions, 3200 foot-soldiers and 800 Celtic and German cavalry, Caesar disembarked at the king's harbor and took up quarters in the Royal Palace upon the Lochias Promontory. At this time the palace was occupied by only two members of the royal family, the young brother of Cleopatra and her sister Arsinoe.

One may well imagine the consternation of the remaining conspirators, Potheinus and Achillas, when Caesar settled down in Alexandria to await developments. Flushed with his complete triumph over Pompey, Caesar was then the most powerful figure in the Roman world. His reputation as a warrior was second to none. Not even the reputation of Alexander stood higher in the minds of men. But for many years the dread of the Romans had weighed heavily upon Alexandria and here at last were the hated symbols parading in the city. The people were greatly aroused and mobs filled the streets determined to oust the usurper before he could consolidate his position there. Caesar at once sent to Asia Minor for reinforcements, but he decided to hold the Royal quarters if possible until they arrived.

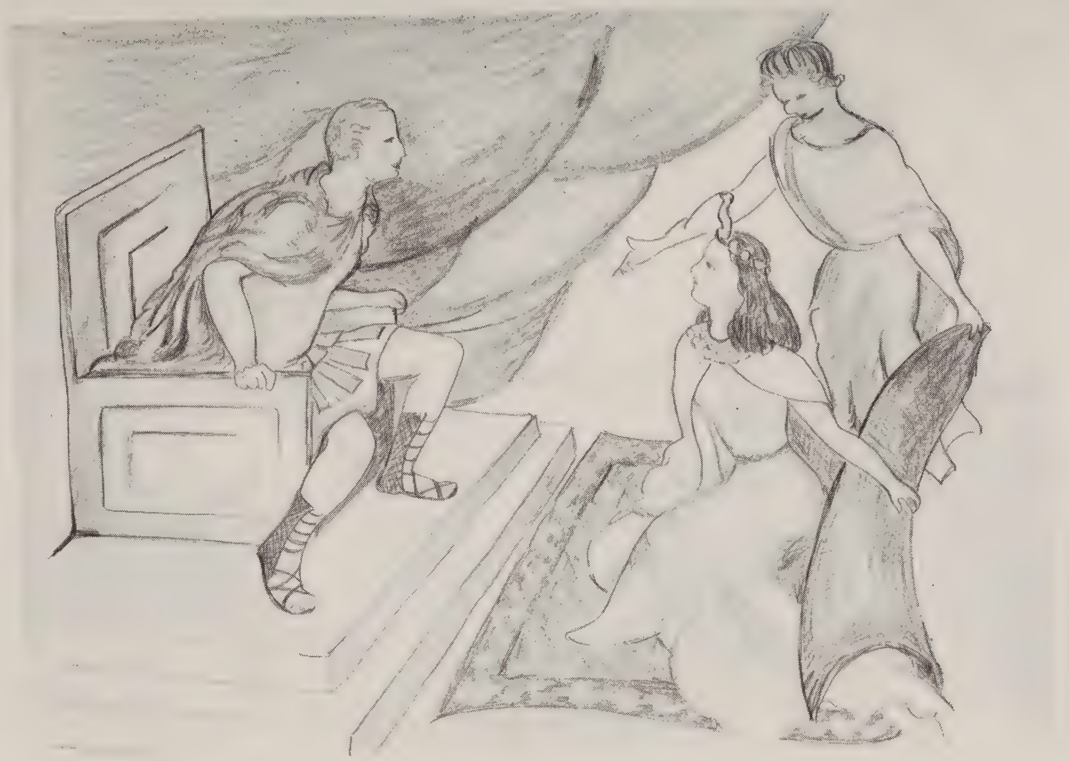
His first act was to dispatch messengers to Pelusium urging that Ptolemy and Cleopatra cease their quarrel and come to Alexandria to let him arbitrate between them. Ptolemy and Potheinus immediately obeyed the summons and were invited to maintain quarters in the palace. There was an appearance of cordiality in these relationships, but underneath the surface an ominous undertone was easily detected.

When Caesar demanded grain for his troops he was given musty and unwholesome corn; when earthen and wooden dishes were used at the royal table, Potheinus complained that Caesar had taken the golden and silver plate in order to liquidate partially the great debt owed him by the king's father.

Uneasy at this open hostility of the wily minister, Caesar forced the young king to dispatch messengers to Achillas ordering him to remain with his army at Pelusium. But in spite of the fact that the messengers were Dioscorides and Serapion, who had functioned as ambassadors in Rome for the king's father, they were set upon by the soldiers of Potheinus, who killed one of them and severely wounded the other. It thus came about that Achillas soon appeared at Alexandria with his army of about 20,000 troops, – a motley assortment of Roman mercenaries, who had served under Gabinius, a large number of pirates and brigands from Syria and neighboring regions, and a multitude of Italian exiles and fugitive slaves, who had sought sanctuary in Alexandria. In spite of their unsavory origins, these men constituted a seasoned army which had fought to restore Auletes to his throne and had gained experience in many campaigns.

In the meantime, however, another event had taken place which was to change the complexion of the entire picture. In fact, it was to have a profound influence upon the future affairs of the Roman world. Cleopatra arrived in the royal palace. According to the stories which have come down to us she was very much aware of the treacherous character of Potheinus and thus had to use great circumspection in gaining admission to Caesar. Hence, in the dusk of evening she set out in a small boat in company with only one of her confidents, Apollodorus, the Sicilian, and landed near the palace. But the most perilous part of her adventure was now before her, for she must gain admission to the palace without being detected, lest she suffer the fate of those who crossed the path of the dangerous Potheinus. In order to avoid this peril, she spred out the coverlet of a bed and lying at full length upon it, ordered Apollodorus to wrap it around her and carry it upon his back through the gates to the apartment of Caesar. Imagine the astonishment of the great consul, when the package was unrolled and the blushing Cleopatra emerged from her cocoon!

What a remarkable young lady his eyes now fell upon, not beautiful



"Imagine the astonishment of the great consul, when the package was unrolled and the blushing Cleopatra emerged from her cocoon!"

beyond compare, but with a charm of personality which is far more powerful in its effect upon other people. The secret of personality resides not in facial features but in mind and action, and these Cleopatra had beyond other women. She was then but twenty years of age, vivacious and full of spirit. About her personality Plutarch makes the following comments:

"For her actual beauty, it is said, was not in itself so remarkable that none could be compared with her, or that no one could see her without being struck by it, but the contact of her presence, if you lived with her, was irresistible; the attraction of her person, joining with the character that attended all she said or did, was something bewitching. It was a pleasure merely to hear the sound of her voice, with which, like an instrument of many strings, she could pass from one language to another; so that there were few of the barbarian nations that she answered by an interpreter; to most of them she spoke herself, as to the Ethiopians, Troglodytes, Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians, and many others whose language she had learned; which was all the more surprising, because most of the kings, her predecessors, scarcely gave themselves the trouble to acquire the Egyptian tongue, and several of them quite abandoned the Macedonian."

Various poets have reconstructed Cleopatra's personality, but perhaps the most characteristic one is given by John Dryden:[1]

"Her eyes have power beyond Thessalian charms,
To draw the moon from heaven; for eloquence,
The sea-green Syrens taught her voice their flattery;
And, while she speaks, night steals upon the day,
Unmarked by those that hear. Then she's so charming,
Age buds at sight of her, and swells to youth:
And holy priests gaze on her when she smiles;
And with heaved hands, forgetting gravity,
They bless her wanton eyes: Even I, who hate her,
With a malignant joy behold such beauty;
And, while I curse, desire it."

It is unfortunate that we have no detailed description of this fascinating and attractive creature by some contemporary authority. It may be assumed that she was not large, for otherwise she would have formed too conspicuous a burden for the faithful Apollodorus. It is also very probable, contrary to popular opinion, that she was fair of complexion and not dark. For she belonged to a pure Macedonian strain and so far as we are aware not a drop of Egyptian or oriental blood flowed in her veins. She belonged to the same race as the Cleopatras of Macedonia and her inheritance came in a direct line from the same stem that had produced the notable Arsinoe some three centuries earlier.

---

[1] *All for Love*, iv, 1.

However that may be, and despite the veil which time and history have wrapped around her image, there is no doubt that Caesar looked upon a very remarkable and intriguing young woman. A totally new reason immediately appeared to him for tarrying in Egypt.

Julius Caesar was at this time fifty-four years of age and time had begun to take its toll of him. His hair was thinning, and his skin was tightly drawn over his cheek-bones, which rendered more conspicuous a scar on his left cheek. But for all of this he was a man of striking appearance, tall, clean shaven, pale of complexion, spare of figure, with a well-set mouth, dark, piercing eyes, and an aquiline nose. He had the bearing of a patrician conqueror, graceful in carriage, with a countenance of markedly intellectual cast. No trace of dissipation or sensuality was discernible in his face in spite of the stories of his wild youth and of his numerous intrigues of later life, which had been in some instances sufficiently notorious to shock even the hardened society of Rome. He now turned his intent and watchful eyes upon Cleopatra.

What passed between these two we do not know, but it is evident that Cleopatra pleaded her case warmly to the consul and he was so captivated by her charm that they discussed the situation most of the night. Caesar agreed to adjudicate the quarrel between Cleopatra and her brother along the terms set forth in the will of their father, and before dawn he summoned Ptolemy to his quarters.

4. *The Siege of the Royal Palace.*

One can easily imagine the consternation of the young prince when he was suddenly faced by his sister in the company of the powerful Roman. He paid no attention to Caesar's plea for a reconciliation with Cleopatra, but throwing his crown to the floor, he ran from the room shouting that he had been betrayed. A great tumult immediately arose; Caesar's troops seized the person of the king, and prepared to quell the angry mob with blows if necessary. Caesar himself appeared before the Egyptians and from a safe place agreed to do for them whatever they desired. Shortly thereafter he met with an assembly of the people, together with Cleopatra and her brother, and read to them their father's will. In this it was stipulated that they should marry according to the Egyptian custom and that the Roman people were to watch after them. As a pledge of his sincerity, he promised to return the island of Cyprus to the Alexandrians and, if they desired, place Arsinoe and her young brothers as rulers over it.

This agreement appeared to quiet the trouble for a while. But in the meantime the wily Potheinus, fearful of his own future, began to plot with Achillas against the life of Caesar. This was not evident on the surface for the palace was very gay during this period in honor of the reconciliation of the two rulers. Caesar, however, was not unmindful of the undercurrent against him and according to Plutarch he would spend whole nights at drinking parties in order to protect himself against treachery. In the meantime he had instructed his barber to keep his ears and eyes open, and to tell him what he might hear. This man faithfully performed his duty and finally brought to Caesar proof of the plot against him. Then, upon the occasion of a banquet in honor of Cleopatra and her brother, a guard was placed about the hall and Potheinus was taken and summarily beheaded. Achillas escaped from the palace and returned to his army, which now prepared for battle with the Romans.

The campaign took on the appearance of a series of assaults both by land and sea; but Caesar controlled the sea, although Achillas held the land. The greatest difficulty was with the water supply which had been cut off from the palace by the Egyptians. But when trial shafts were sunk in the royal area, wells of excellent water were discovered and the danger from this source averted.

During the course of these engagements, the Egyptians were heartened by obtaining a member of the royal family. The princess Arsinoe, who was not carefully guarded at the palace, managed to escape and was brought by Ganymedes, a eunuch, to the camp of Achillas. She was immediately declared queen and the struggle was continued with renewed vigor. But in those troublesome times one plot always seemed to lead to another, and soon Ganymedes persuaded the princess that Achillas was plotting treachery against her. Thereupon Achillas was put to death and Ganymedes took his place as commander of the army.

Ganymedes then decided to make a sea attack upon the Romans. For this purpose he had the boats in Lake Mareotis and in the Nile conveyed through the canal into the Eustobus harbor. Thereupon by a sudden attack he burned a number of freight vessels and caused other damage to Roman shipping. Caesar bided his time, however. Then he in his turn made an unexpected attack upon the Egyptian fleet, setting many ships on fire. This event proved to be a very disastrous one, for the conflagration spread to the wharves, thence to the shipping houses on the shore, and before it came under control had consumed the library of the Museum. How great this damage actually was we do not know, for authorities seem to be confused on this point, but that it was considerable is evident from the fact that in a later time Antony was persuaded by Cleopatra to bring to Alexandria the famous library of Pergamum.

At this same time Caesar also decided to dislodge the Egyptians from the Island of Pharos, an attack which he appears to have led in person. But the Egyptians attacked in great numbers and crowded from the mainland onto the Heptastadium. The Romans were greatly outnumbered and were driven back to their ships. In the melée Caesar along with others fell into the water. He himself was a conspicuous object because of his purple robes and would have perished both from the weight of his clothing and the missiles hurled at him, had he not disengaged himself from his garments and swum to a small skiff near by. According to Dio's account of this engagement Caesar had some documents in his hand and these he succeeded in holding out of the water so that they were not damaged.

But help was now near at hand for the beleaguered Romans in the Royal palace, since the troops from Syria were approaching Pelusium under the able generalship of Mithridates, a natural son of Mithridates the Great. Moreover, reinforcements had also arrived by sea, although considerable loss had been suffered when individual ships were lured to the shore by false signal fires and destroyed. At this time also Caesar succeeded in ridding himself of King Ptolemy, who stood in the way of his plans for Cleopatra. Employing the excuse that he wished Ptolemy to help arrange the terms of peace for him, he dismissed the king from the palace and sent him to the Egyptian army. The poor lad protested violently against this dangerous mission, but was finally forced to leave the sanctuary of the royal quarters.

In the meantime Mithridates had taken Pelusium by storm and was advancing upon Alexandria. But the Egyptians, encouraged by the fact that they now were in possession of the person of the king, fell upon the Syrian forces near the eastern shore of Lake Mareotis and routed them. Caesar then, by one of those tricks for which he was justly famous, set out in his ships toward Pelusium. He made signal fires upon them so that the Egyptians could observe his apparent intention of advancing by way of the Nile. But soon he extinguished the fires and turned back in the direction of Lybia. There upon the coast, just west of Alexandria, he disembarked. Caesar then led his forces around the edge of Lake Mareotis and at dawn fell upon the startled Egyptians from the rear. This proved to be the final and decisive battle. The Egyptians were completely routed and the unlucky King Ptolemy, in his haste to escape across the Nile, was thrown into the river and perished.

Caesar now made peace at last with the Egyptians and placed Cleopatra as their sole ruler upon the throne. In order to preserve appearances, he celebrated a marriage between her and her younger brother, then a child about seven years of age. This youth thus became, in name at least, Ptolemy XV. Caesar had now spent more than six months in Egypt and other pressing matters were at hand. A serious revolt had taken place in Parthia and there was always the turbulent political strife of Rome to watch. Nevertheless Caesar tarried in Egypt, for Cleopatra had told him the news, – that a child was expected.

According to some authorities (Suetonius), Caesar is said during this time to have made an expedition into Upper Egypt with Cleopatra, and perhaps brought back with him from this adventure to Alexandria the two great obelisks, known in later times as "Cleopatra's

Needles." According to tradition, however, they were taken from Heliopolis by Augustus Caesar to adorn the Caesarium in the golden city.

5. *Cleopatra in Rome.*

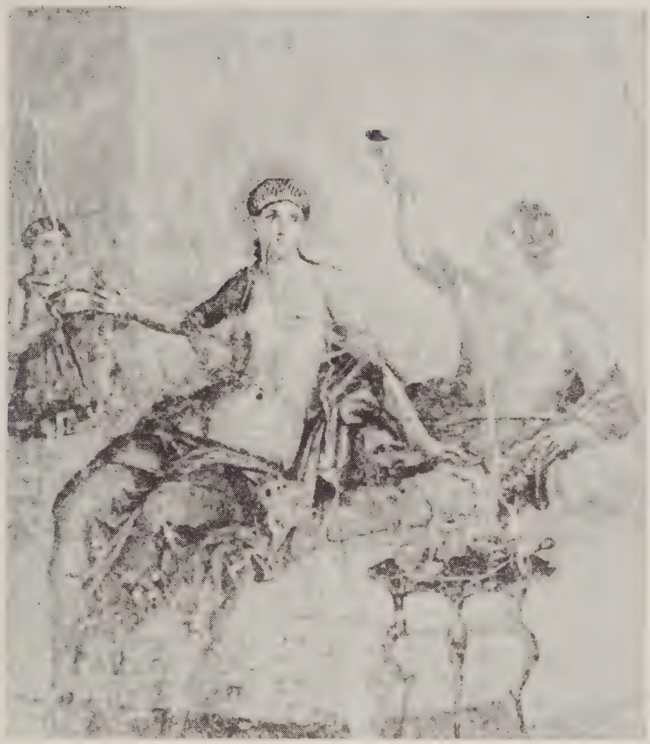
But matters were pressing and Caesar was driven by the exigencies of the Roman domain finally to take his departure from the luxurious and delightful life of Alexandria. Whether his departure occurred before or after the birth of the child is not certain, for the baby was born early in the year 47 B. C. Although the calendar date would be probably the month of July as we know it today, there had been accumulating over the years a lag between the civil and the solar calendar because of the faulty knowledge about corrections for the length of the year and this error was now a matter of some three months. At any rate there was an heir to the great inheritance of Caesar and the infant was given the name of Caesarion.

The status of the child, of course, was quite ambiguous, for Caesar had a legal wife, Calpurnia, his fourth, in Rome, while Cleopatra, having just lost her first legal husband through the events which we have narrated above, was now married to her youthful brother, King Ptolemy XV. But a clever solution of such matters can always be found through royal prerogatives. For the kings and queens of Egypt since the time of Alexander had been identified with the gods. Thus, said Cleopatra, Caesar was no common mortal, but descended from the gods themselves. Deified, he could do no wrong. Hence, following the same pattern as that of Olympias many years before, she identified Caesar with the god Jupiter-Ammon. As the consort of this deity she could then give a higher legal status to her child, than if he had been the son of an ordinary man.

Caesar was now busy with other wars too tedious to recount. Finally, however, these were at an end and near the middle of the year 46 B. C. he decided at last to return to Rome to celebrate his triumphs. These, it must be admitted, were great enough, – the conquest of Gaul, the conquest of Egypt, the subjugation of Pontus, and the quelling of a rebellion in Northern Africa which had been started by the fugitive friends of Pompey. Caesar probably desired to have Cleopatra present on this momentous occasion, so she, together with her child, now a year old, her brother, and a great retinue of servants, departed for the Roman capitol. It is not known whether she was present at the triumphs, but it would seem probable in view of her own great concern in them.

Four days were devoted to the occasion. On the first day Caesar appeared as the conqueror of Gaul, and at nightfall by the light of torches drove in his chariot to the Capitol accompanied by forty elephants. At the conclusion of the procession, the conquered Vercingetorix was executed as was the custom in those barbaric times. The second day was devoted to the triumph over Egypt. In the parade the princess Arsinoe was led in chains, together with the unfortunate Ganymedes, who was executed at the end of the day. The life of Arsinoe, however, was spared, perhaps at the intercession of Cleopatra. Images of Potheinus and Achillas were exhibited in the procession, together with various symbols of the new empire which had been joined to the countries now under the control of Rome. The third day was devoted to the campaign in Pontus in which was displayed a banner with the famous words of Caesar: "*Veni! Vidi! Vici!*" (I came! I saw! I conquered!), with which he had announced his victory over Pharnakes. The final day celebrated the African conquest against the last of the followers of Pompey. But the fact that this was actually a civil war was disguised by attempting to show that it was a triumph over King Juba of Numidia, who had joined with the Pompeian party.

The appearance of Cleopatra in Rome was something of a scandal. She and her entourage were housed in Caesar's own villa near the Tiber and there she dwelt in the luxury of an Egyptian queen who was associated in the most intimate manner with the first citizen of Rome. She was apparently accorded every respect by Caesar. In consecrating a temple to Venus Genetrix, he placed therein a statue of Cleopatra which had been made by the Roman sculptor, Archesilaus. The occasion of the opening of the temple was made a day of festival with gladiatorial contests, a miniature naval fight on an artificial lake and other exhibitions for the amusement of the multitudes. But as one might readily suspect, all was not smooth sailing for the queen who had thus been thrust with such prominence into Roman society. Cicero was openly against her and his views were shared by many.



This BANQUET SCENE from a wall painting found in Herculaneum gives some impression of what was attained by the Alexandrian school of painters, who flourished probably in the time of Cleopatra and after.

During this period of Cleopatra's life in Rome, Caesar fought his last war, this time in Spain against the two sons of Pompey. Again he was completely victorious. At last all external enemies of the Roman government, which was in reality his own government, were routed. Caesar returned to Rome in the early summer of 45 B. C. to enjoy his victories, and plot, perhaps, for the establishment of a Roman empire to replace the old republic, which was now a republic only in its external forms.

About this time the young king of Egypt, Ptolemy XV, mysteriously disappeared. All that we know about this event is the current rumor that he died by poisoning. Now, indeed, did Caesarion become an object of more than casual interest, for in him was the possibility of uniting the Roman domain with the wealth of Egypt.

6. *The Assassination of Julius Caesar.*

But now the destiny of Caesar was drawing to its close. Suspicions of his dream of grandeur were current in the city. In the senate he had received many honors. On one occasion, when he was seated above the rostra, as the praetors and consuls drew near, followed by the senators themselves, he did not rise to receive them, but remained seated. Great indignation was expressed over this and he tried to excuse it as a result of his epilepsy, which was beginning seriously to affect him. At another time, on the occasion of the festival of the Lupercalia, Caesar was seated on a golden throne upon the rostra watching the runners in the sacred race. Among these was Antony, at that time a consul, and, despite some controversies, an ardent advocate of Caesar. On this occasion he approached the throne of Caesar and offered him a diadem around which was twined a wreath of laurel. There was mild applause at this, but when Caesar waved it from him, the applause of the people was great. Again Antony offered the crown to Caesar, but again Caesar waved it from him and the approval of the multitude was once more expressed. If Caesar was to assume the role of king, it was evident that the path must be by other means than popular approval.

But this drama was soon to reach its climax. For there was brewing in the senate a plot to remove these dangerous ambitions by the one most certain of all routes, – assassination. The plot was headed by Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cassius, both senators and men of the highest standing in Rome. Each one of these conspirators had private reasons for hating Caesar, although both had benefited by his gifts. Outwardly at least they pretended to see great danger to the state in the obvious ambitions of the powerful ruler.

The Ides of March, that is to say the fifteenth day of the month, had been set for the fatal deed. Those who tell the story relate that many portents warned Caesar of the coming event: "lights in the heavens, crashing sounds all about by night, and birds of omen coming down into the forum." Even Calpurnia his wife became alarmed over a dream that he had been killed, for, says Plutarch, "while he was sleeping as usual by the side of his wife, all the windows and doors of the chamber flew open at once, and Caesar, confounded by the noise and the light of the moon shining down upon him, noticed that Calpurnia was in deep slumber, but was uttering indistinct words and inarticulate groans in her sleep; for she dreamed, as it proved, that she was holding her murdered husband in her arms and bewailing him."

The conspirators assembled on the morning of March 15 in the Portico of Pompey in a part of the government buildings where the Senate was to meet that day. Nervously they awaited the fatal moment, which was long in coming. For Caesar, either because of the fears of his wife, or for some other reason, tarried along the way.

As Caesar entered the building the Senate rose respectively to its feet. Then one of the conspirators came forward with a petition, which was a signal for the others to press around the doomed man. In a moment he understood their purpose, and started to defend himself; but his toga was pulled from him and one of the conspirators stabbed him in the shoulder. Wildly Caesar struck out with his stilus, and for a moment broke away to the foot of the pedestal of the statue of Pompey. At that moment he caught sight of Marcus Brutus, whom he had always treated with the greatest affection. Thereupon, saying: "*Et tu, Brute!*" (Thou too, Brutus!), Caesar veiled his face and fell dying to the ground. Or as Shakespeare has put it:

"This was the most unkindest cut of all:
For when the noble Caesar saw him stab,
Ingratitude, more strong than traitor's arms,

> Quite vanquish'd him: then burst his mighty heart;
> And, in this mantle muffling up his face,
> Even at the base of Pompey's statue,
> Which all the while ran blood, great Caesar fell."

And so, in the fifth-eighth year of his life, Caesar died, the consuming passion of his life unfulfilled, namely, to become the Emperor of the Romans. With his death there developed a violent struggle for power, similar to that which rocked the empire of Alexander the Great when that conqueror passed away. Cleopatra, perhaps advised by Antony, returned to Egypt to await the outcome of the contest.

7. *Marc Antony, the Man of the Hour.*

The man of the hour was Marc Antony, who saw in the dramatic death of Caesar the possibility of a powerful appeal to the Roman populace. Since Destiny had picked him out to play the next role in the romance of Cleopatra, it is necessary to make his better acquaintance.

Marc Antony was born about 83 B. C., the son of Antonius Creticua, and was related on his mother's side to Julius Caesar. He evidently spent a profligate youth under the influence of a man named Curio, who led him into drinking, dissipation, and the inevitable difficulties of debt. His step-father, Cornelius Lentulus, became involved in the notorious plots of Catiline and, under the direction of Cicero, he was put to death with the other conspirators. This may have accounted for Antony's bitterness toward the orator at a later date. Antony himself appears to have joined in acts of violence and disorder in association with Clodius, characterized by Plutarch as "the most insolent and outrageous demagogue of the time." Finally, however, these excesses got him into difficulty and he was forced to flee to Athens, where he devoted himself to military exercises and the study of oratory.

Antony, however, had a great deal of personal charm, which probably accounted in large measure for the spectacular character of his career. We have the following picture of him from Plutarch:

"He had also a very good and noble appearance; his beard was well grown, his forehead large, and his nose aquiline, giving him altogether a bold, masculine look, that reminded people of the faces of Hercules in paintings and sculptures. It was, moreover, an ancient tradition, that the Antonys were descended from Hercules, by a son of his called Anton; and this opinion he thought to give credit to, by the similarity of his person just mentioned, and also by the fashion of his dress. For, whenever he had to appear before large numbers, he wore his tunic girt low about the hips, a broadsword on his side, and over all a large, coarse mantle. What might seem to some very insupportable, his vaunting, his raillery, his drinking in public, sitting down by the men as they were taking their food, and eating, as he stood, off the common soldiers' tables, made him the delight and pleasure of the army. In love affairs, also, he was very agreeable; he gained many friends by the assistance he gave them in theirs, and took other people's raillery upon his own good-humor. And his generous ways, his open and lavish hand in gifts and favors to his friends and fellow-soldiers, did a great deal for him in his first advance to power and, after he had become great, long maintained his fortunes, when a thousand follies were hastening their overthrow. One instance of his liberality I must relate. He had ordered payment to one of his friends of twenty-five myriads of money, or *decies*, as the Romans call it, and his steward, wondering at the extravagance of the sum, laid all the silver in a heap, as he should pass by. Antony, seeing the heap, asked what it meant; his steward replied: 'The money you have ordered to be given to your friend.' So, perceiving the man's malice, said he; 'I thought the *decies* had been much more; 'tis too little; let it be doubled.'"

Antony was not allowed to remain long in Athens, for he was invited by Gabinius, who was then consul, to assist him in the conquest of Syria, at that time in revolt against the Romans. In this campaign Antony distinguished himself, and when it was over he counseled Gabinius to advance to the aid of Ptolemy Auletes, the father of Cleopatra, who was struggling to regain his throne in Egypt. This wretched monarch, whose story we have told earlier, had offered a bribe of ten thousand talents to Gabinius for this assistance, but most of the officers were against the enterprise as one of unusual peril. Finally, however, at the insistence of Antony, the campaign was undertaken, and Antony himself was ordered ahead with his horsemen to break the way for the army. This difficult feat he accomplished so well that he actually attacked the city of Pelusium, gateway to Egypt, and took it by storm, which made the work of the army a comparatively simple task. Apparently he prevented Ptolemy from wreaking a sanguinary revenge upon his subjects, and in general won the admiration and friendship of the Alexandrians.

There it was in Alexandria, in the year 55 B. C., that Antony, then a young man of 28, first met Cleopatra, a girl of 14 years, and, according to Appian, "he had fallen in love with her at first sight."

From Egypt Antony proceeded next to Gaul and hitched his destiny to the star of Caesar by whose influence he rapidly mounted from quaestor to augur and then to the tribuneship of the plebs. In the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey he attached himself to Caesar. While Caesar was in Spain in 49 B. C. Antony became the deputy-governor of Italy. He was second in command at the decisive battle of Pharsalus (48 B. C.), when Caesar broke the power of Pompey, and again served as deputy-governor of Italy the next year while Caesar was away in his conquest of Egypt.

Antony, it would appear, was a man who took the matter of money and property rights quite lightly. This one may gather from the description of Plutarch which we have quoted above. When the house of Pompey was put up for sale in Rome, Antony immediately purchased it. But when a settlement was demanded he complained loudly and refused to pay. For this he was censured by Caesar and a coolness developed between them for a while. This was not a quarrel of much moment, however, for when Caesar returned from his last campaign in Spain in 45 B. C. he gave special honor to Antony and selected him as his colleague in the consulate.

Such, in brief, was the man who now became the man of the hour at the death of Caesar. At first he feared that he had also been marked out for assassination. But when no action was taken against him, he persuaded the conspirators to come down from the Capitol where they had taken refuge and return to their homes. The next day he appeared before the senate, and speaking in the interests of the state, recommended that both Brutus and Cassius, the recognized leaders of the conspiracy, should be sent away from Rome for a while, but in the capacity of rulers of two of the provinces. This seemed a very masterful solution of a situation which was fraught with the dangers of civil war.

But a little later, when Antony sensed the turbulent feelings of the people, he saw a chance in the spirit of the mob to gain considerable power for himself at the expense of the conspirators. And thus, when the body of Caesar was being carried to the tomb prepared for it, he preached his famous funeral oration. He first spoke of the great deeds done by the Dictator for the Roman people, the magnificent conquests which he had won, the wise and beneficent laws which he had initiated. Then, in dramatic climax, he brought forth the under garments of the dead ruler, pointed to the holes made by the daggers, showed the stains of blood, and condemned this deed as the act of villains and murderers.

This speech so inflamed the listeners that there at once arose a great cry for revenge. The funeral cortege was stopped, a pyre was erected in the forum, and in a short time the flames were heralding the beginning of a new period of civil war. With torches the mob sought out the homes of the conspirators and these fled in terror of their lives from Rome.

8. *The Civil War.*

Then, indeed, began a bloody period, when law and order gave place to struggles for power between the different parties. A short time before this dramatic moment Gaius Octavius, the son of Caesar's niece, a young man then about nineteen years of age, for he was born in 63 B. C., had hastened to Rome to claim the inheritance which had been left him by Caesar's last will and testament. He became the focus of one party, Antony of another, and the conspirators of yet a third.

By a series of events which we need not consider here, it finally came about in October of the next year (43 B. C.) that a reconciliation was effected between the parties of Antony and Octavius. Joining forces with a somewhat insignificent man by the name of Lepidus, a friend of Caesar and commander of the army in Gaul, Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus formed what was called the second triumvirate. Different provinces were put under the control of each man.

And thus, at last, was ushered in that period which all men had dreaded and many had foreseen when Caesar died. A reign of terror took place, while the enemies of the triumvirate were being hunted out and put to death. No more savage spectacle is afforded in history than this bloody conscription. The account which Dio gives of it in his *History*[1] sounds almost word for word like scenes taken from the terror of the French Revolution more than eighteen centuries later. Hundreds of prominent citizens lost their lives, among whom was the orator Cicero. But since these events affected Alexandria only remotely, we can turn this bloody page of history and move on to other matters.

As soon as their enemies in Rome had been removed, the triumvirs were able to turn their attention to the conspirators. Brutus and Cassius had fled to Macedonia, where they had succeeded in developing a formidable army with which they hoped to be able to recoup their fortunes and defend the interests of the dying republic.

But the gods had long ago ruled otherwise and the days of the republic were numbered. On the plains of Phillipi the fateful battles were fought with the conspirators. Cassius was killed and Brutus committed suicide. Octavius, who had been taken ill and who played little part in this campaign, returned to Rome, while Antony remained to undertake an expedition against the Parthians.

This campaign, however, assumed more of the character of a Bacchic rout than a military expedition. Antony appeared to want to be identified with the god Dionysus. At Ephesus in Asia Minor he was met by crowds of revelers, women dressed as Bacchantes and men as satyrs and fauns. Spears were decked with ivy wreaths; and the art of war yielded to the art of pleasure as it is to be read in the books of Dionysus. Antony was everywhere greeted by these festive crowds, and he would have been popular enough had it not been for the fact that such revelries cost rather excessive sums of money. The burden of taxes began to make itself felt, and as Plutarch puts it, while "Antony in their songs was Bacchus the Giver of Joy and the Gentle," to many he became "the Devourer and the Savage."

These excesses of Antony in the name of Dionysus have been told in other places. Thus Athenaeus,[2] who, as the reader has already observed, always had his eye out for the piquant, reports that when Antony visited Athens he "erected a scaffold in plain sight above the theater, which was roofed with green boughs, like the caves built for Bacchic revels; on this he hung tambourines, fawnskins, and other

---

[1] xlvii, 1-19. [2] *Deipnosophistae*. iv, 148.

Dionysiac trinkets of all sorts, where he reclined in company with his friends and drank from early morning, being entertained by artists summoned from Italy, while Greeks from all parts assembled to see the spectacle." At another time he held his revels on the top of the Acropolis itself, and illuminated Athens with torches from the roofs. He also gave orders throughout the Grecian cities that thenceforth he was to be known as Dionysus.

9. *The Meeting of Antony and Cleopatra.*

The thoughts of Antony now began to turn toward Alexandria and he sent a message to Cleopatra to present herself to him in Cilicia to answer to the accusation that she had given assistance to Cassius in the war that had just been finished. Cleopatra, believing that she had little to fear from Antony, the friend of Caesar, immediately made plans to join him. This historic meeting occurred at Tarsus and detailed accounts of it have come down to us.

And so it came about, sometime during the year 41 B. C., that Cleopatra arrived with her ships at the mouth of the Cydnus river in Cilicia. These vessels had been equipped with the greatest extravagance. As they rowed slowly up the river toward the city of Tarsus, which was ten miles from the sea, the report spread like wild-fire that the famous Queen of Egypt was approaching the city in regal magnificence never before known in the history of that ancient place. The banks of the river and the wharves just below the city were crowded with eager watchers. And just as the dusk of evening was spreading over the land Cleopatra swept into the quiet waters of the lagoon where the river widened at the city. Only the poet could do justice to this scene. Thus it is described by Shakespeare:[1]

> "The barge she sat in, like a burnish'd throne,
> Burn'd on the water; the poop was beaten gold;
> Purple the sails, and so perfumed that
> The winds were love-sick with them; the oars were silver,
> Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made
> The water which they beat to follow faster,
> As amorous of their strokes. For her own person,

---

[1] *The Tragedy of Antony and Cleopatra.* ii, 2.

It beggar'd all description: she did lie
In her pavilion — cloth of gold, of tissue —
O'er picturing that Venus where we see
That fancy outwork nature; on each side of her
Stood pretty dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids,
With divers-colour'd fans, whose wind did seem
To glow the delicate cheeks which they did cool,
And what they undid did. . . . . . .
Her gentlewomen, like the Nereides,
So many mermaids, tended her i' the eyes,
And made their bends adornings: at the helm
A seeming mermaid steers: the silken tackle
Swell with the touches of those flower-soft hands,
That yarely frame the office. From the barge
A strange invisible perfume hits the sense
Of the adjacent warfs. The city cast
Her people out upon her; and Antony,
Enthroned i' the market-place, did sit alone,
Whistling to the air; which, but for vacancy,
Had gone to gaze on Cleopatra too
And made a gap in nature."

Upon the arrival of Cleopatra, Antony sent her an invitation to have supper with him, but she asked him to come to her instead. He very graciously accepted and, doubtless consumed with curiosity, arrived with a chosen group of friends to see what the famous queen had prepared for his entertainment. The affair quite exceeded his expectations. The plate on which they ate was made of gold exquisitely fashioned and set with jewels; the walls were hung with tapestries woven from threads of purple and gold. Twelve triple couches were placed around the banquet room. The lights apparently astonished Antony the most, "for on a sudden," says Plutarch, "there was let down altogether so great a number of branches with lights in them so ingeniously disposed, some in squares, and some in circles, that the whole thing was a spectacle that has seldom been equalled for beauty." When Antony made extravagant comments about the magnificence of the occasion, she deprecated the function and presented Antony and his friends with everything in the room.

Antony now invited Cleopatra to have dinner with him, but she apparently again prevailed upon him to accept her hospitality upon the next night. And this time the affair was even more gorgeous than the first. The vessels were so much more costly, that the ones used the night before appeared paltry. At the conclusion of the feast she presented the guests with the dishes, the couches on which they had reclined, the rich coverings, and even the sideboards. When the revelers were about to return to their homes she presented the guests of high rank with litters and bearers, while for many of the others "she provided horses gaily caparisoned with silver-plated harness, and for all she sent along Ethiopian slaves to carry the torches."[1]

Poor Antony! What could he do, in the face of this oriental magnificence, to entertain on his part the splendid queen from Alexandria? Since his turn to show hospitality came next he did the best he could, but it was poor enough. However, he was the first to joke about his poverty, his lack of wit, and rustic awkwardness. But Cleopatra entered into the spirit of the occasion and met broad raillery in kind. This, says Plutarch, was the secret of her charm, – her ability to adapt her wit to any circumstance.

The next episode of this adventure was held on the fourth night when Cleopatra outdid all that she had done before. For when the guests arrived in the banquet room they found the floor covered to a depth of a foot and a half with roses, held in place by nets.

But the most fantastic of all these banquets was given as the result of a wager between Antony and Cleopatra. The account of this famous occasion is told in a lively manner by Livy,[2] whom we quote as follows:

"When Antony had been sated by her, day after day, with the most exquisite banquets, this queenly courtesan, inflated with vanity and disdainful arrogance, affected to treat all this sumptuousness and all these vast preparations with the greatest contempt; upon which Antony inquired what there could possibly be added to such extraordinary magnificence. To this she made answer, that on a single entertainment she would expend ten million of sesterces [one sesterce = approximately four cents].

"Antony was extremely desirous to learn how that could be done, but looked upon it as a thing quite impossible; and a wager was the result. On the following day, upon which the matter was to be decided, in order that she might not lose the wager, she had an entertainment set before Antony, magnificent in every respect, though no better than his usual repast. Upon this, Antony joked her, and inquired what was the amount expended upon it; to which she made answer that the banquet which he then beheld was only a trifling appendage to the real banquet, and that she alone would consume at the end of the meal the ten millions of sesterces. Thereupon she ordered the second course to be served.

---

[1] Athenaeus, iv, 148. [2] ix, 58.

"In obedience to her instructions, the servants placed before her a single vessel, which was filled with vinegar, a liquid, the sharpness and strength of which is able to dissolve pearls. At this moment she was wearing in her ears those choicest and most unique productions of nature; and while Antony was waiting to see what she was going to do, she removed one of them from her ear and threw it into the vinegar. As soon as it was melted, she swallowed it. Lucius Plancus, who had been named umpire in the wager, placed his hand upon the other pearl at the very instant that she was preparing to dissolve it in a similar manner, and declared that Antony had lost."

The second pearl, which so narrowly escaped destruction, appears subsequently to have been cut in half and the two parts placed in pendants, which were hung in the ears of Venus in the Pantheon at Rome.

10. *The Troubles of Antony.*

By these means the coils designed by Cleopatra were entwined tightly around poor Antony. Forgotten were the Parthians against whom he had set out upon his expedition; forgotten were the affairs in Rome and the ambitions of Octavius; forgotten, even, was his wife Flavia. This lady, however, was not easily dismissed from mind, for, says Plutarch, she was "a woman not born for spinning and housewifery, nor one that could be content with ruling a private husband, but prepared to govern a first magistrate, or give orders to a commander-in-chief." If even the great Caesar could not break away from the spell of this charming Egyptian enchantress, what could Antony do to escape the net? Waving lightly aside all other matters, Antony at once accompanied Cleopatra to Alexandria.

Then, indeed, was there a merry life and the Alexandrians thanked Antony for "acting his tragic parts in Rome, and keeping his comedy for them." Banquets were of daily occurrence, carried out with a lavishness possible only in the rich city of Alexandria. One man relates that he visited the royal kitchens where he saw eight wild boars roasting. When he commented upon the fact that a large gathering must be expected, the cooks replied that only twelve had been invited to dinner. But so irregular were the hours of Antony that not one, but many dinners, must be in readiness so that the roast would not be overdone.

All the entertainment that could be devised by money and ingenuity was indulged in and the days flew merrily by. Cleopatra used up all of Antony's time. She diced with him, drank with him, and went hunting with him. When he took his exercise in army games, she was there to witness them. At nightfall they used to play practical jokes upon the Alexandrians. She would dress as a servant woman and he as a working man, and together they would knock at windows and doors and indulge in various other similar adventures. At times they were scurvily treated and even beaten; but there is no doubt that they enjoyed these pranks.

Many practical jokes they played upon one another. In one of these Cleopatra got the better of Antony. It seemed that he was fishing one day, but when luck was against him and nothing took his line, he hired divers to swim under water and fasten fish to his hooks. Thus he appeared to be a most successful angler; whereupon Cleopatra, who saw through the fraud, pretended to be very much impressed. But secretly she instructed one of her men to swim to Antony's line, and when he pulled out the next catch he was startled to see that it was a salt fish from the Pontus. Thereupon Cleopatra said to him: "Leave the fishing rod, general, to us poor sovereigns of Pharos and Canopus; your game is cities, provinces, and kingdoms."

But these pleasant hours were drawing to a close,— as all things must. For now came disturbing news to Antony. His wife Flavia had provoked a quarrel with Octavius which had proved entirely disastrous, and she was now fleeing with his friends to Greece. From Asia also came the ominous report that the Parthians, under the leadership of Labienus, had swept the Romans before them and were now moving against Syria. So, finally, Antony bade a reluctant farewell to Cleopatra and hastened away to look after his entangled affairs. A few months after Antony left Alexandria Cleopatra gave birth to twins who were named Alexander Helios (the Sun) and Cleopatra Selene (the Moon). This was in the fall of the year 40 B. C.

But Antony seemed by the will of Fortune to be able to surmount difficulties which would have overwhelmed most men. With his friends in open war against Octavius and his armies in retreat, the future must have looked dark, indeed. Proceeding to Phoenicia he was met by letters from Flavia telling of her troubles and he turned his ships toward Italy. But at this critical juncture Flavia fell ill in Sicyon, a Grecian city, which as we have said before was famous for its painting, and died there rather suddenly.

When Antony reached Italy he found that Octavius was inclined to treat him in a conciliatory manner, blaming Flavia for the quarrel between their followers. Moreover, in order to heal the breach caused by the struggle, Octavius suggested to Antony that he should marry his half-sister Octavia, then lately widowed, who was a lady of much charm and beauty. This alliance was approved by everyone, except, of course, the absent Cleopatra; and peace once more came upon the troubled affairs of Italy. Antony dispatched his general Ventidius to Asia with new troops to fight the Parthians, and so successful was he in this campaign that the enemy was completely routed and their leaders Labienus and Pharnapates slain. Antony remained a while in Italy, but there were constant irritations between him and Octavius, who always seemed to win more than his share in dice, cock fights, and other sports with which they beguiled the time. So finally, Antony took Octavia and moved with her to Athens.

Affairs then drifted along in a fairly easy manner until Octavia, who had borne Antony two daughters and was expecting a third child, returned to Italy. Then, at last, the thoughts of Antony turned again toward Egypt.

Now Plato says that the human soul is like a man driving two horses, one strong and willing, tractable to the reins, and eager to do his work; the other is unruly, violent when checked, and controlled only by goad and whip. Antony now, says Plutarch, gave rein to the unruly horse and summoned Cleopatra to meet him again in Syria.

Perhaps to show the contriteness of his spirit for the wrongs which he had done to her he made her the magnificent gift of "Phoenicia, Coele-Syria, Cyprus, great part of Cilicia, that side of Judea which produces balm, and that part of Arabia where the Nabathaeans extend to the outer sea." This tremendous present Antony justified by saying that the greatness of the Roman empire consisted in giving rather than in taking kingdoms. He also added in justification of his continued life with Cleopatra that the blood of kings should be propagated throughout the world, following the example of his ancestor, the heroic Hercules. These remarkable sophistries, however, did not please the Roman people, nor in particular, the outraged Octavius.

And now indeed the tide of Fortune began to turn against Antony, this incredible man who had ridden every dangerous wave with strange success. Who else in all history ever committed so many follies and yet emerged from each one stronger than before? The life of Antony, based upon the most impossible excesses, an unbelievable audacity, and a total disregard of contracts of any kind, presents a story unique in history.

But fate was now upon him and this last violent move was to furnish the final act in the great drama of the romance of Cleopatra. For great, indeed, was the wrath of Octavius! His cherished sister had been humiliated; rich domains of the empire of the Romans had been recklessly given to Egypt; and Antony had betrayed his trust. With implacable rage Octavius began to undermine the reputation of Antony in Rome and carefully bided his time.

Meanwhile Antony had made an expedition against the Parthians, which, in spite of great hardships and loss of men, had attained some slight measure of success. At the conclusion of this engagement he sent a message to Cleopatra asking that she meet him in Syria, bringing with her clothes and money for his men. During this period she had been in Alexandria where she had borne another child, a boy to whom she had given the name of Ptolemy. Obedient to Antony's wishes she set out for the trysting place called White Village, between Sidon and Berytus, on the Syrian coast, where Antony awaited her with the greatest impatience.

And there it was that the last bitter struggle was fought between the Queen of Egypt and Octavia for the control of Antony. For shortly after Cleopatra's arrival letters came to Antony saying that Octavia had reached Athens and awaited his pleasure. With her she had brought clothes for his soldiers, presents for his friends, besides some two thousand additional troops.

Then, indeed, did Cleopatra use all her arts to beguile Antony. She grew thin from fasting and her friends upbraided Antony for allowing the queen to die for love of him. So distracted then did he become that finally he decided to give up his campaign in Armenia, which he had used as an excuse to keep Octavia in Athens, and returned to Alexandria with Cleopatra.

Thus was the fatal decision reached. Octavia returned to Rome, where she behaved in very proper spirit, seeking to prevent her brother from taking revenge upon Antony. But the patience of Octavius was now at an end. In the senate he told how Antony had assembled the Alexandrians in a place where two golden thrones had been erected upon a platform of silver for Cleopatra and himself with lesser thrones for Caesarion and his own children. And when they were assembled he had proclaimed Cleopatra, conjointly with Caesarion, ruler of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Coele-Syria. To Alexander, his own son, he had given Armenia, Media, and Parthia, a bit prematurely, it would seem, since this last country was not yet conquered. Upon Ptolemy, his second son, he had bestowed Phoenicia, Syria, and Cilicia. This report and others of like kind so inflamed the senate and the Roman people that, in spite of Antony's popularity, open war was soon declared, – not against him, but against Egypt and her queen.

11. *The Battle of Actium.*

Antony appears to have used great energy in getting ready for the coming struggle. He had an immense force under his command consisting of about 500 ships of war, including many galleys of eight and ten banks of oars, infantry to the number of a hundred thousand, and cavalry numbering twelve thousand. In addition to this trained force, he had reinforcements from many of the vassal kings. Opposed to this great army and navy, Octavius had about two hundred and fifty galleys, eight thousand infantry, and approximately as many horsemen as Antony.

But in spite of his greatly superior land forces and his experience as a commander in land operations, Antony decided to trust his fate to a naval engagement in spite of the advice of his officers and other friends. Why this decision was made is not known, but it appears to have been urged upon him by Cleopatra. The battle took place at Actium, a port on the Gulf of Anbracia, on the western coast of Greece, a few miles north of the great Gulf of Corinth. It was fought in September of the year 31 B. C.

After waiting a few days because of stormy weather Antony's fleet moved out of the gulf, where it had been stationed, to engage the navy of Octavius. His fighting force had been trimmed down to something between three and four hundred ships, of which sixty perhaps were the Egyptian vessels of Cleopatra. Whether these were actually part of the fleet, or whether they had planned beforehand to attempt to escape to Egypt under the screen of the battle, is not known for there is much uncertainty about the actual strategy of this engagement.

The details of the battle are told most graphically by Plutarch who thus reports:

"When they engaged, there was no charging or striking of one ship by another, because Antony's, by reason of their great bulk, were incapable of the rapidity required to make the stroke effectual, and, on the other hand, Caesar's dared not charge head to head on Antony's, which were all armed with solid masses and spikes of brass. Nor did they like even to run in on their sides, which were so strongly built with great squared pieces of timber, fastened together with iron bolts, that the beaks of their vessels would easily have been shattered upon them. The engagement thus resembled a land fight, or, to speak yet more properly, the attack and defense of a fortified place; for there were always three or four vessels of Caesar's about one of Antony's, pressing them with spears, javelins, poles, and several inventions of fire, which they flung among them. Antony's men on their part poured down missiles from wooden towers. When Agrippa [Caesar's lieutenant] drew out the squadron under his command, to outflank the enemy, Publicola [Antony's lieutenant] was obliged to observe his motions, and gradually break off from the middle squadron, where some confusion and alarm ensued, while Arruntius (who commanded the center) engaged them.

"But the fortune of the day was still undecided, and the battle equal, when of a sudden Cleopatra's sixty ships were seen hoisting sail and making out to sea in full flight, right through the ships that were engaged. For they were placed behind the great ships, which, in breaking through, they put into disorder. The enemy was astonished to see them sailing off with a fair wind toward Peloponnesus. Here it was that Antony showed to all the world that he was no longer actuated by the thoughts and motives of a commander of men, or indeed by his own judgment at all. And what was once said as a jest, that the soul of a lover lives in some one else's body, he proved to be a serious truth. For, as if he had been born part of her, and must move with her wheresoever she went, as soon as he saw her ship sailing away, he abandoned all who were fighting and spending their lives for him, and put himself aboard a galley of five banks of oars, taking with him only Alexander of Syria and Scellias, to follow her who had so well begun his ruin and would hereafter accomplish it."

By rapid rowing Antony overtook the ships of Cleopatra and he was taken aboard the vessel of the queen. She, however, refused to see him; so Antony, without saying a word, withdrew to the prow of the vessel and covered his face with his hands. There, at last, he tasted for the first time in his career the bitter dregs of defeat. Fortune at last, perhaps disgusted at his follies, had turned her face away.

This fleet was overtaken by several galleys. Antony challenged one of them and demanded to know who pursued him. The commander shouted back: "I am Eurycles, son of Lachares, armed with Caesar's fortune to avenge my father's death."

This Lachares, it seems, had been condemned for robbery and beheaded on the orders of Antony. But the vengence-seeking Eurycles failed to recognize Antony and attacked and captured another ship instead.

Without further adventure the fugitives finally reached the port of Taenarus at the southern end of the Greek peninsula, where the full details of the overwhelming defeat were brought to them. Here it was, says Plutarch, "that the women of their company succeeded first in bringing them to speak, and afterwards to eat and sleep together." From Taenarus, in deep dejection, they sailed for Africa and landed at Paraetonium, a desolate spot on the African coast about 160 miles west of Alexandria. There Antony decided to remain, while Cleopatra left for her capital city to see what fortune might be saved from this destruction of all her hopes.

12. *The Death of Antony.*

For a while Antony lived in almost complete solitude, wandering about on the sands with two friends at times, and meditating his fate. When further news reached him of new disasters he decided to commit suicide, but was prevented from doing so by his companions. At last, however, he returned to Alexandria and there discovered that the resourceful Cleopatra was busily engaged in moving her vessels into what is now called the Gulf of Suez. This startling feat was to be accomplished by dragging her boats a few miles across the sands from the nearest water-way to the Red Sea, which then extended through a series of partially silted channels some distance along the Isthmus of Suez. Such an astonishing adventure might well have succeeded had not the Arabs made a sudden attack and burned her vessels before they could be launched.

At Antony's advice she now abandoned this project and prepared for the expected attack by the victorious Octavius. In this she received little help from Antony, for in his great desire to withdraw from the world that had suddenly become so black, he built the Timonium. And so, at last, we come to the events with which we started our story.

A brief respite was given to Antony and Cleopatra by the return of Octavius to Italy where troubles had arisen. But by the spring of the year 30 B. C. he was ready to advance upon Alexandria and returned to Asia Minor for this campaign. At this same moment Cleopatra was making plans for a great celebration in Alexandria in which she was to declare that her son Caesarion, then nearing his seventeenth birthday, had now reached the age of manhood and was ready to take his part in the affairs of government.

This news, brought to Antony in the Timonium, at last stirred him from his lethargy and he began to take once more an interest in the affairs about him. Communicating again with Cleopatra he suggested that his own son Antyllus, by Flavia, a lad somewhat younger than Caesarion, should also have a part in the celebration and be declared of age. Poor lads! To reach the state of manhood in those dangerous days was often to have the warrant of death written against you. And so it was with them for both perished finally at the hands of Octavius, betrayed in each instance by their tutors, — one because he was the son of Antony and the other because, in the words of Homer:[1]

"Too many leaders are not well; the way
Is to have one commander to obey,
One king, of Zeus appointed for the sway."

With the ominous clouds hanging above them, both Antony and Cleopatra resolved, if they must die, then they should die in a manner fitting to those who had lived the life of Epicurus. Fetes and banquets were a daily matter. A group was formed called the *Synapothneskontes*, or the *Die-Togethers*, to replace the order of the *Inimitable Livers*, which had been formed years before during Antony's first residence in Alexandria. The life in the golden city was more luxurious than it had ever been before, although Cleopatra began in secret to study the nature of poisons.

Ambassadors were sent to Octavius asking that Cleopatra might keep Egypt for her children and that Antony might live there as a private citizen, or perhaps retire to Athens. But the wrathful Caesar replied that Antony must die, and if Cleopatra would bring this about, then there was no reasonable favor which she might not expect. These terms were too hard for her.

By the end of July in the year 30 B. C. Octavius reached the gates of Alexandria and pitched his camp near the Hippodrome at the eastern edge of the city. Then, indeed, was doom upon them. Antony, with youthful bravado, sent a challenge to Octavius to duel hand to hand, but Caesar replied that Antony might find several ways to end his life. That night Antony supped long and drank deeply on the theory that he should eat, drink, and be merry, for on the morrow he might die. His friends wept for they knew that fate had at last caught up with him. "That night," says Plutarch, "about the middle of it, when the whole city was in deep silence and general sadness, expecting the event of the next day, on a sudden was heard the sound of all sorts of instruments, and voices singing in tune, and the cry of a crowd of people shouting and dancing, like a troop of bacchanals on its way. This tumultuous procession seemed to take its course right through the middle of the city to the gate nearest the enemy; here it became loudest and suddenly passed out. People who reflected, considered this to signify that Bacchus, the god whom Antony had always made it his study to copy and imitate, had now forsaken him."

---

[1] *The Iliad.* II.

Dawn came over the restless city, and with it Antony gave the word to his forces to attack the enemy. But as the fleets approached one another, his men raised their oars in salute to Octavius. His horsemen, instead of charging the foe, deserted to them, and his footsoldiers fell back into the city. Then, indeed, was Antony lost and he cried out that Cleopatra had betrayed him. The unhappy queen, fearful lest he should attack her in his fury, fled to a great monument which she had built for her sepulcher, near the temple of Isis, and in which she had stored many of her richest possessions, – gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, cinnamon, and other treasures. Letting down the heavy doors, she sent messengers to Antony telling him that she was dead.

And thus departed the last hope out of the life of Antony. "Now, Antony, why delay a moment longer?" he cried out. "Fate has snatched away the only excuse for which you could say that you desired yet to live."

Thereupon he ordered his faithful servant, Eros, to kill him; but the man, instead, drawing his sword, ran it through his own body. Whereupon Antony cried out: "It is well done, Eros, you show your master how to do what you had not the heart to do yourself." And so he ran the sword through his body and laid himself down upon a couch to die.

But the wound was not immediately mortal and while he was lying thus Diomede, Cleopatra's secretary, came to him, saying that the queen wished to see him in her monument. When Antony heard that she was still alive he eagerly besought those around him to carry him to her. But when they arrived at the sanctuary, Cleopatra would not let anyone enter through the door, since she and her two women were the only ones there. But from an upper window she let down ropes and with the assistance of those around Antony, he was finally lifted up the wall and through the window. Then, indeed, was the sorrow of the poor queen tragic to behold. All reproaches were forgotten; all past follies forgiven; all the bitter memories dissolved in the sorrow of the present moment. And so they talked a little while together and recalled the happy hours which they had spent with one another, the frolics, and the escapades, and entertainments, and the revels where he was Bacchus and she the goddess Aphrodite. And then at last, after he had partaken of a little wine, Antony died.

13. *The Fate of Cleopatra.*

Soon Proculeius came from the camp of Octavius to seek Cleopatra, for the news had been carried speedily to Caesar. He, it is said, retired into his tent and wept at the news of the death of a man with whom he had been so closely associated in so many perilous adventures, who had one time been his friend, who was tied to him by marriage. To his friends he read some of the letters which he had written in reply to arrogant messages from Antony. Now all was over between them forever.

Protected by the walls of her sanctuary Cleopatra held a parley with Proculeius, but would not yield herself to him; and he, since he had been instructed to take Cleopatra alive, returned finally to Octavius. Caesar then sent another envoy by the name of Gallus, who talked with Cleopatra at the door while Proculeius with scaling ladders entered through the window by which Antony had been hauled into the building so short a time before.

One of the women seeing him cried out: "Wretched Cleopatra, you are taken prisoner."

Whereupon Cleopatra snatched a dagger from her girdle and would have killed herself had not Proculeius seized her hand, crying out: "For shame, Cleopatra; you wrong both yourself and Caesar, since you would rob him of such a fair occasion to show his clemency, and would make the world believe the gentlest of commanders to be a faithless and implacable enemy."

Octavius now treated Cleopatra with the highest consideration; his servants were instructed to care for her with the greatest kindness, but at all costs to prevent her from taking her own life. The body of Antony was given to her for burial, and the funeral rites were carried out with regal magnificence. But Cleopatra finally broke down under her weight of grief and anxiety and fell ill of a fever which she aided by refraining from food, until Octavius spoke sharply to her about the fate of her children if she should die.

Some days later Octavius paid a visit to the queen, who fully deceived him as to her intentions. When she had presented him with a list of her treasures, a servant indicated that some of her personal possessions had been omitted from the list. Whereupon Cleopatra sprang upon the man and struck him several blows in the face, crying out that these small trinkets had been kept for presents to Octavia and Caesar's wife Livia and other friends. This pleased Octavius who thus felt that Cleopatra was again interested in the affairs of life.

When news was brought to her soon afterwards that Caesar was planning to leave for Syria and that she and her children were to be sent for three days after his departure, she visited the tomb of Antony, and, according to Plutarch, spoke as follows:

"O, dearest Antony, it is not long since that with these hands I buried you; then they were free, now I am a captive, and pay these last duties to you with a guard upon me, for fear lest my just griefs and sorrows should impair my servile body, and make it less fit to appear in their triumph over you. No further offerings or libations expect from me; these are the last honors that Cleopatra can pay your memory, for she is to be hurried far away from you. Nothing could part us while we lived, but death seems to threaten to divide us. You, a Roman born, have found a grave in Egypt; I, an Egyptian, am to seek that favor, and none but that, in your country. But if the gods below, with whom you now are, either can or will do anything (since those above have betrayed us) suffer not your wife to be abandoned; let me not be led in triumph to your shame, but hide me and bury me here with you, since, among all my bitter misfortunes, nothing has affected me like this brief time that I have lived away from you."

Returning now to her quarters in the monument, Cleopatra made an elaborate toilet and partook of a sumptuous meal. Then there appeared a farmer at the door with a small basket for Cleopatra. The suspicious guards demanded to know what it contained, but the farmer pushed aside the leaves with which the contents were covered and showed that the basket was full of luscious figs, some of which he offered to the guards, who refused them. Their suspicions thus allayed, the guards allowed him to enter.

Soon after her meal Cleopatra dispatched to Octavius a letter which she had written and carefully sealed. Then dismissing everyone, except her two women, she shut the doors to her room. Her letter to Octavius was an appeal that she should be buried beside her husband Antony. Then, indeed, did Octavius know that Cleopatra would never grace his triumphal procession in Rome.

When messengers from Octavius arrived Cleopatra was already dead and her two women, Iras and Charmion, were dying. Although the nature of the poison used by them is not known for certainty, it is believed that an asp was brought in to them in the basket of figs. But the serpent was never found, although some say that his trail was seen in the sand leading to the sea.

14. *The End of the Romance.*

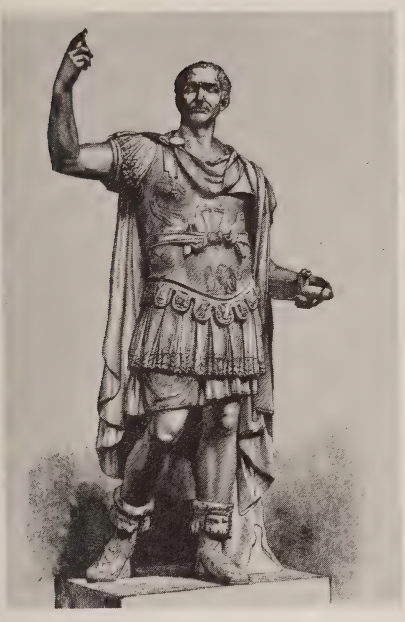
And thus we come to the end of the romance of Cleopatra, who died under these tragic circumstances in August of the year 30 B. C. at the age of nine and thirty years, having ruled over the Egyptians for twenty-two of them. She was buried with royal honors beside Antony.

The surviving children of both Antony and Cleopatra were not harmed by Octavius, but they were taken to Rome and cared for by his sister Octavia. Alexander Helios was married to Iotapa of Medea,[1] and Cleopatra Selene became the bride of Juba, King of Mauretania, who attained a great reputation as an historian and geographer and is frequently referred to by Pliny. A son of this marriage, named Ptolemy, succeeded to the throne of his father about 19 A. D., but was killed by the Roman Emperor Caligula. What became of Ptolemy, the youngest son of Antony and Cleopatra, is not known.

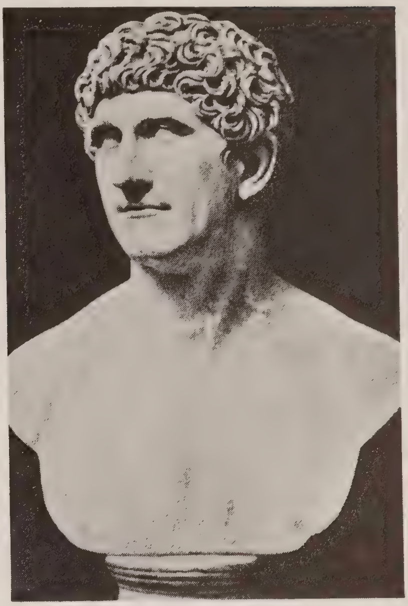
The numerous progeny of Antony attained prominent stations in Roman society and one of them was the ancestor of Nero, which was, perhaps, a kind of Nemesis, since this ruler came near to destroying the Roman Empire.

---

[1] Tacitus: *History*, v, 9.

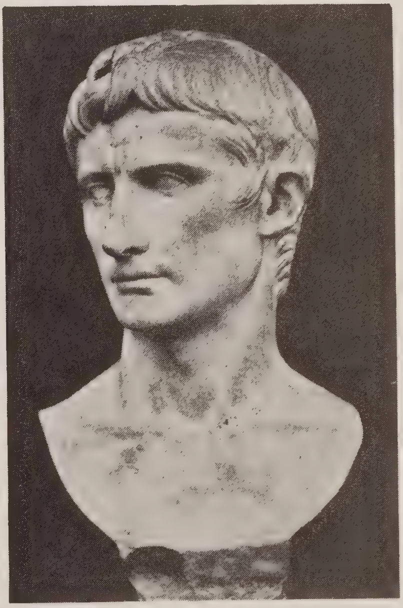


JULIUS CAESAR



MARC ANTONY
(Vatican)

CLEOPATRA
(British Museum)



AUGUSTUS CAESAR
(Copenhagen)

There is no moral to be drawn from the adventures which we have told, for the romance of Cleopatra lies across the pages of history only as a love story the poignancy and drama of which have not diminished during the passing of the centuries. No lasting benefits have come from the romantic lives of these lovers, as have come from the lives and works of those who toiled in the great Museum. But the world will never forget them as long as the spirit of romantic adventure lives. Nor could anyone appreciate the magic of the golden city without once hearing the tale which we have related in these pages.

CHAPTER 11

ROMAN INFLUENCES

1. *The Triumph of Octavius*

WITH THE PASSING OF Antony and Cleopatra, Egypt came under the sway of Rome and the kings no longer dwelt in the royal palaces of the Lochias in Alexandria. A Roman prefect now sat upon the throne of the Ptolemies and the Roman eagles were carried through the streets. Gone was the color of the older dynasty, the magnificent pageants, and the glowing life of a city enriched by the most extensive commerce of ancient times. For now must tribute be paid to Rome and to the conquerors, who held at the points of their javelins and in the weight of their broad-swords the power to force the payment.

The story which we are now about to relate changes its pattern so abruptly and so remarkably that one can scarcely believe he is hearing the history of the lives of the same people. Somber are many of the scenes and full of shadows. No longer does the scholar in the Museum search for the mysteries of nature, for the golden flood which supported his labors in earlier times has been drained into other channels. Instead of the mysteries of the sun and the stars, the courses of the planets and the functions of the human body, his thoughts are now introspective. The human soul, the mystery of God, the nature of the future life engage his attention. Although there were notable exceptions to this trend, as we see in the work of Claudius Ptolemy, and Galen, and Pappus, and Diophantus, and others who refused to foresake the pathway laid out by their predecessors in the golden age of the Museum, the attention of most men was turned toward the mysteries of religion. This became the dominating interest of those who filled the schools and the temples in this new period of the golden city.

Since the history of Alexandria from the time of Octavius was woven inextricably with the fortunes of the empire of the Romans, it is necessary for us to recall a few of the incidents which followed the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra.

When Octavius returned to Rome in the summer of the year 29 B.C. he was the sole master of the Roman world. No foe existed to challenge his imperial will; he was the commander of forty-four legions, which had had experience in every form of battle, and were devoted to his service. For the first time in two centuries, by virtue of his conquests, the affairs of the Roman people did not require the services of armed forces. The doors of the temple of Janus were closed, doors which had remained open during all the long years of bitter civil conflict.[1] The rich lands of Egypt had been added to the wealth of the republic and there was a general feeling of relief among all people.

Under these pleasing circumstances Octavius celebrated a three-day triumph. The first day was devoted to conquests in the northern provinces, the second day to the battle of Actium, and the third to the conquest of Egypt. This last, according to all accounts, was spectacular because of the vast spoils which had been brought back from Alexandria. A statue of Cleopatra lying on a couch was paraded through the streets; her twin children Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene appeared in the train of the captives. Images representing Egypt and Father Nile were displayed. The cars in the procession were laden with the wealth of the conquered country.

The poets joined in the general celebration, for here, indeed, was a subject suited to their art. The most famous of these poems is the following ode of Horace, which expresses the general elation of the people.[2] We observe in it, however, a note of real anxiety and an expression of the odium with which Cleopatra was held in Rome. The poem tends to confirm the observation sometimes made that the story of the Egyptian queen has been told largely by her enemies.

Come comrades, drink the flowing bowl,
And dance from night to early morn;

---

[1] Janus, a god with two faces, was a principal Roman diety. His temple by custom was kept open during periods of conflict (Livy i, 19). The extent of warfare in classical times is shown by the fact that the doors of the temple were closed only four times before the Christian era.

[2] *Odes*, Book I, 37.

Let joyous rout, Saliarian feasts
The couches of the gods adorn.

The day has come when from the bins
We dare break out Caecubian wine;
We could not drink while Egypt's Queen
Our Capitol would undermine.

This frenzied Queen, by madness daft,
With tainted men, a willful horde,
Diseased in mind, diseased in craft,
Had tempted fortune with her sword.

But though her ships were wrecked by fire,
And fate had checked her mad design,
Her fury grew till Caesar's ire
This fever cooled and stopped desire,
Inflamed by Mareotic wine.

For as the hawk pursues the dove,
Or hunter on Haemonian slopes
Pursues the hare o'er snowy fields,
So Caesar with this monster copes.

But she, though seeking nobler end,
Showed fear of neither life nor death,
Nor sought in ships a distant shore,
Where she might draw an easier breath.

With face serene the fallen Queen
Withdrew within her regal hall;
Nor feared to play with poisoned asps,
Nor feared lest bitter fate befall.

Too proud to sail in Roman ship,
Too proud was she for Caesar's play,
Too proud to walk in shameful chains,
Too proud to grace a triumph's day.

2. *How a Republic Becomes an Empire.*

Now that the terrifying and bloody civil wars were finally at an end the Roman people awaited hopefully for the blessings of peace. These blessings Octavius determined to give them, and he devoted the next eighteen months (Aug. 29 to Jan. 27 B. C.) to the task of reestablishing the constitutional government which had lapsed since that fateful day, some twenty years before, when Julius Caesar crossed the Rubicon.

But those who have dwelt in Republics know from bitter experience that the powers of dictatorship are far easier to create than to destroy. Men who have grasped great forces in their hands are always reluctant to relinquish them, and the powers which they control are usually sufficient for self perpetuation. There are few, if any, instances in the history of governments, where dictatorships have been voluntarily relinquished by those who have built them up. And now there was no reversal of this historical precedent on the case of Octavius.

The conqueror of Egypt, however, made an attempt to return to the old form of the republic. He nominally gave up the powers of his dictatorship and restored the offices which had formerly existed in the government. Once more, as he himself said, he "handed over the republic to the control of the senate and to the people of Rome." Everywhere this act was greeted with enthusiasm and Octavius was hailed as "the restorer of the commonwealth and the champion of freedom." The grateful people, in recognition of this happy ending to their anxiety, awarded him on the thirteenth of January 27 B. C. the civic crown to be placed over his doorway and he was called the first citizen (*princeps civitatis*). The senate four days later conferred upon him the name of Augustus, a title which soon was to become the symbol of the imperial status that followed.

But the return to the older forms of republican government was more nominal than real; for while Octavius lived, the weight of his authority was inevitably the principal factor in any essential problem that faced the republic. It was clear that Octavius could not assume the title of king, so deep was the hatred of the Roman people for this word, nor dared he relinquish his authority in the critical affairs of the government. The situation thus exhibited an unprecedented anomaly.

The situation was met by referring to Octavius as *princeps*, a title that carried none of the connotations of the hateful word *rex* (king). He still held the office of consul, but in 23 B. C., by a vote of the senate and the people, the grant of the *imperium* was conferred upon him for a period of ten years, and this appointment took precedence over his consular authority. His powers under this appointment included jurisdiction over the Roman provinces, where military authority was maintained, and he was declared commander-in-chief of the Roman army with the exclusive right to levy troops, conclude treaties, make war where necessary, and establish peace. By this sweeping act Octavius thus, without the actual title, became in reality the first emperor of the Roman world. To be sure his rule in Rome itself and in the senatorial provinces was nominally reduced, but he was granted rights in these domains equal to those exercised by the consuls. Twelve lictors were assigned to him, and his seat was placed between those of the consuls.

In the exercise of these new powers Augustus now employed the title of tribune, an office which had been conferred upon him for life in 36 B. C. When the *imperium* expired at the end of ten years, it was renewed for a period of five years, then again for another five years, and finally twice for ten years. The obvious intention of these nominal limitations of power was to grant to Augustus the rule during his own lifetime, but to prevent any hereditary assumption of it.

But as we have pointed out, the relinquishment of powers once granted seldom if ever occurs under the orderly processes of law. And as Augustus drew near to the end of his life, be began to cast about him for a successor to the position of *princeps*. He had first associated with himself his son-in-law Marcus Agrippa as a colleague (18 B. C.), a man for whom he cherished the deepest personal affection. But in 12 B. C. Agrippa died, and three years after this Drusus, the step-son of Augustus, passed away while returning to Rome from a successful campaign against the Germans. Augustus might then have turned to his old friend Gaius Cilnius Maecenus, but Maecenus also died at this same time. This worthy man will always be remembered by every lover of literature as the patron of both Vergil and Horace, and we may hope that his reputation will remain bright even in that distant time when the name of the illustrious Augustus is but a word on the pages of history.

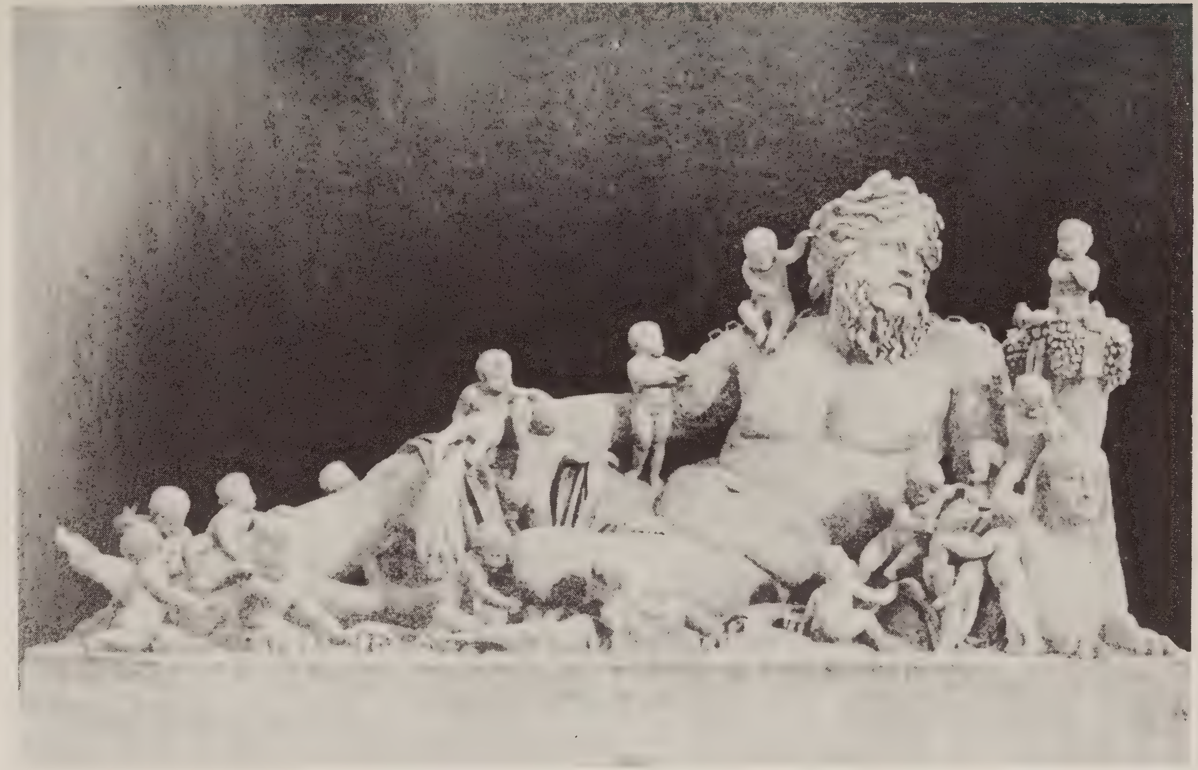
In this difficulty Augustus turned finally to his remaining step-son Tiberius, a man of austere and unlovable character, but one whose position and ability marked him as the most likely person by whom the imperium might be successfully administered. Although Augustus had also shown particular favor to the sons of Agrippa and Julia, his daughter, they both died suddenly at the turn of the century. Thus the only person left on the political horizon was Tiberius. Thereupon Augustus adopted him as a son and designated him as his successor to the imperium.

In this manner, then, the last vestiges of the old republic disappeared. For when Augustus died on the nineteenth day of August 14 A. D., Tiberius at the age of fifty-six became the first emperor of the Roman people by virtue of his inherited succession.

3. *The Age of Riots.*

Although the events which we have described belong to the history of Rome rather than to that of Alexandria, they must be understood if one is to comprehend what followed afterwards in Egypt. For with the accession of the emperors there began a period that is terrifying even when viewed over the great space of centuries that intervenes between that time and the present. From the comparative stability of the kingdom of the Ptolemies, we pass to an era of riots and political confusion, during which the commercial and intellectual glories of Alexandria slowly but surely deteriorated.

Perhaps one can understand better the general instability of the government during the ensuing centuries if he considers a very elementary analysis. There are great trends in the history of man, which appear to be amenable to statistical description. The tides of conquest flow, and on some of these the human race occasionally reaches such great peaks of prosperity and achievement as the one discernible during the reigns of the first three Ptolemies. At other times the ebb takes place and the tremendous forces of dissolution sweep mankind into the depths, where the struggle to maintain even a precarious life destroys all powers of imagination and achievement.



FATHER NILE is one of the most famous of the works of art produced by the sculptors of the Hellenistic School.

The history of Alexandria is a magnificent example of this ebb and flow, and while the contemplation of the decay of the glories of the golden city is not as pleasant as that of the great flood which carried the city to its heights, the picture is one that mankind can reexamine with interest and perhaps with some profit.[1]

In order to understand the general instability of the last centuries of Alexandria's history, let us consider for contrast the period of 272 years from the beginning of the rule of Ptolemy Soter in 323 B. C. to the death of Ptolemy Auletes in 51 B. C. During this time there were essentially eleven rulers of Egypt, if we neglect the two infants whose reigns ended before they had properly begun. This gives an average of nearly twenty-five years for each Ptolemy. The stability of this kingdom is thus comparable to that of England, where from the Norman conquest in 1066 to the end of the reign of Edward VIII in 1936, a period of 870 years, there were essentially forty-one rulers, including the two Cromwells in the period of the Commonwealth. This yields an average reign of twenty-one years for each ruler, which surely indicates a government of exceptional stability when it is viewed over so many centuries. The achievements of England in the arts and sciences during this period, her golden ages of literature and science, are too well known to require comment. But let us compare these eras with the period of the Western Empire of the Romans. From the accession of Tiberius in 14 A. D. to the removal of the seat of government to Constantinople by Constantine the Great, in 330, a period of 316 years, some forty-two emperors march across the stage. Unstable, indeed, were these precarious thrones, for the average tenure between the cheers of the multitude at the accession until their more hearty cheers at the usually violent death of the tyrant, was less than seven and a half years. Terror, license, persecution, and their attendant evils stalked the vast domain for many of the years of these unpleasant centuries. For the emperor knew that he lived within the shadow of the dagger or the chalice of poison, and only the fear of his vengeance kept him enthroned upon his precarious seat.

---

[1] The curious reader who may wish to pursue this subject further is referred to the author's recent work on *Political Statistics*, Evanston, 1954. A considerable wealth of data relating to the economies of classical times has been assembled there and subjected to statistical analysis.

It is no wonder, then, that riots increased in the Roman provinces. Nor is it difficult to see why the people turned to the solace of religion where they might forget the cruelties of the external world in the ecstasies of the world of the spirit. We can thus readily understand why the growth of Christianity occurred against a background of almost continuous persecution, and why the intellectual life as typified by the work of the scholars in the Museum practically disappeared.

4. *The Alexandrian Tumults.*

Let us return now to a few of the incidents of Roman rule in Alexandria. Immediately after the death of Antony and Cleopatra, Egypt was placed under the governorship of Cornelius Gallus, the first prefect, who completed the conquest of the natives by force of arms. The prefect was a man of the rank of equestrian and he exercised virtually the powers of a king. He dwelt in the palaces of the Lochias, but his tenure was political in character and subject to the will of the emperor. The extreme insecurity of this appointment and the frequent disturbances that occurred as the result of the establishment of new governments are well illustrated by the fact that during the two centuries from 30 B. C. to 170 A. D. some fifty-two men held the position of prefect in Alexandria. Do we wonder, then, that the population was given to frequent rioting?

Because of the suspicion entertained by the Roman emperor of his colleagues of patrician rank, no Roman senator was allowed to set foot in Alexandria except with the special permission of the emperor. Egypt was a province peculiarly inaccessible to attack. On the east it was defended by great wastelands over which it was difficult to maneuver an army. The approach by sea was barred by the fact that Alexandria had the only adequate harbor along the treacherous African coast. Hence, if a senator, with imperial ambitions, should take up his abode on the pleasant shores of Lake Mareotis, it is not difficult to see how the turbulent population of Alexandria might have been molded easily to his will. As we shall observe, even with these precautions, many usurpers to the throne were supported by the Alexandrians. And so it was that the unstable character of the Roman government itself extended its instability to

LIST OF ROMAN EMPERORS to the SARACEN CONQUEST OF ALEXANDRIA

Date of Reign	Emperor
31 B.C.-14 A.D.	Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus, called Augustus Caesar.
14 - 37	Tiberius (Claudius Nero Caesar)
37 - 41	Caligula (Caius Caesar). Slain
41 - 54	Claudius, uncle of Caligula.
54 - 68	Nero Claudius Caesar. Suicide.
68 - 69	Galba. Assassinated.
69	Otho. Suicide.
69 - 70	Vitellius (Aulus). Killed.
70 - 79	Vespasian (Titus Flavius Sabinus).
79 - 81	Titus (Flavius). Son of Vespasian.
81 - 96	Domitian. Son of Vespasian.
96 - 98	Nerva (Marcus Coceius)
98 -117	Trajan (Marcus Cocceius)
117-138	Hadrian (or Adrian)
138-161	Antonius Pius
161-171	Marcus Aurelius Antonius and Lucius Verus
171-180	Marcus Aurelius Antonius alone
180-192	Commodus. Son of Marcus Aurelius.
192-193	Pertinax: Julianus
193-211	Septimius Severus
211-212	Caracalla and Geta
212-217	Caracalla alone. Slain.
217-218	Macrinus (Marcus). Slain.
218-222	Heliogabalus. (Ex-priest).
222-235	Alexander Severus
235-238	Maximinus (the Thracian)
238	Gordianus I; Gordianus II
238	Pupienus and Balbinus
238-244	Gordianus III
244-249	Philip, the Arabian
249-251	Decius. Slain by Goths.
251-254	Gallus. Slain by his troops.
254-260	Valerianus. Slain by Persians.
260-268	Gallienus. Slain by his troops.
268-270	Claudius II (Marcus Aurelius)
270-275	Aurelian
275-276	Tacitus
276-282	Probus Marcus Aurelius
282-283	Carus. Slain by lightning.
283-284	Carinus and Numerianus
284-305	Diocletian (Maximianus).
305-306	Galerius & Constantius I
306-312	Maxentius (Rome).
306-314	Maximinus (Egypt).
306-337	Constantine the Great.
337-361	Constantine II, Constans, and Constantius
361-363	Julian the Apostate
363-364	Jovian. Restored Christianity.

Date of Reign	Emperors of the West	Date of Reign	Emperors of the East
364-367	Valentinian	364-379	Valens
367-375	Gratian	379-395	Theodosius the Great
375-394	Valentinian II	395-408	Arcadius
394-395	Theodosius the Great. Also Emperor of the East.	408-450	Theodosius II
395-425	Honorius	450-457	Marcian
425-455	Valentinian III	457-474	Leo the Great
455	Petronius Maximus	474-491	Zeno
455-457	Avitus	491-518	Anastasius I, Dicorus
457-461	Majorianus	518-527	Justin I, the Goth
461-467	Severus	527-565	Justinian I, the Great
467-472	Anthemius	565-578	Justin II, Nephew of Justinian I
472-473	Olibius	578-582	Tiberius II
473-474	Glycerius	582-602	Maurice (Flavius Tiberius)
474-475	Julius Nepos	602-610	Phocas, the Centurion
475-476	Augustulus Romulus	610-641	Heraclius, the Cappadocian
	In 476 Rome was taken by Odoacer, King of Italy, which brought to an end the Roman Empire of the West.	641	Constantine III
		641-668	Constans II, Heraclius.

Egypt in an aggrevated form, and the comparative peace and prosperity of the Ptolemies gave place to economic insecurity and the constant change of political patterns.

The riotous nature of the Alexandrians has been commented upon by many writers. The population of the city was a mixture of different races. The lowest class was made up largely of the native Egyptian stock. Above this were the Greeks and the Jews, the former haughty because of their tradition as having been the ruling class during the reign of the Ptolemies, the latter rendered aggressive because of their commercial prosperity. In addition to these elements there existed a large floating population, derived partially at least from the constant wars which had been fought in the east by the Roman legions. The people who swarmed the streets of the busy city included many soldiers, both employed and unemployed, as well as numerous exiles from ravaged countries, and certainly also the great entourage of those who went down to the sea in ships.

Riots seemed to start in this inflammable population at the slightest provocation, and these were seldom quelled before blood had been spilled. We have already witnessed one of these tumults at the time of the death of Ptolemy Philopater, but they seem to have been of more frequent occurrence during the rule of the Romans. Any kind of a dispute could become the focus of one of these bloody affairs. The scarcity of certain kinds of food in the markets, an argument over a religious question, the order of precedence at public baths are examples of the matters which inflamed the minds of the Alexandrians. The great Hippodrome on the eastern edge of the city was also a prolific breeder of riots; and never was there a chariot race or a horse race without broken heads and the letting of blood. One can easily imagine the difficult position occupied by the governor of Alexandria, when tumults were of such frequent occurrence. The following naive statement is made by a writer of the fourth century: "Alexandria is entered by the governors with trembling and despair, for they fear the justice of the people; where a governor perpetrates a wrong, there follows at once the setting of the palace on fire and stoning."[1]

The beginning of the Roman rule was a period of comparative tranquility. Aelius Gallus, the second prefect of the city, interested himself in extending commerce in the Red Sea and made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Arabia Felix (Aden). Gaius Petronius, who succeeded him, cleared some of the irrigation canals, which had become clogged by silt, and repelled an invasion of the Ethiopians, who were pursued far up the Nile to their capital city, which was taken by storm.

But during the reign of the emperor Caligula (37-41), violent riots broke out between the Greeks and the Jews. This was occasioned by a visit to Alexandria of King Agrippa of Judea, who had been a great friend of the emperor before his accession to the throne, and was a notorious spendthrift in Rome. A few months before his visit to Alexandria he had attempted to borrow money from the Jewish bankers of the city in order to sustain his wretched credit. All this was common gossip. But now, by the turn of the wheel of fortune, here he was parading in the streets of Alexandria with a great retinue, and dressed in garments of regal elegance. The incongruity of the situation appealed to the broad levity of the mob. Accordingly they dressed an imbecile in a paper crown and led him about the streets of the city, a mummery which soon touched off the spark of tumult.

---

[1] Mommsen: *Provinces of the Roman Empire.* viii, 12.

Under ordinary circumstances this riot would soon have died away. But it so happened at this time that the Jews were goaded to despair because the emperor had insisted that his statues be placed in their temples of worship. This sacrilege they resisted with pious intensity. Hence, starting from a comparatively small matter, the riot soon shifted to the major problem, grew rapidly into great proportions, and there was essentially civil war in Alexandria. The Jews were beleaguered in their quarter of the city; their ships were burned in the harbors; their isolated houses were destroyed; and all those caught wandering in the city were slain. The prefect himself entered into the persecution by insisting that the orders of the emperor regarding the veneration of his statue should be obeyed.

The riot spread finally beyond the city and into Palestine and Syria. Publius Petronius, the governor of Syria, was commanded in 39 to place the statue of the emperor in the sacred temple of Jerusalem, and the people arose in a general revolt against this overwhelming sacrilege. The outcome would have been one of the most sanguinary massacres in history, if we can judge from the intensity of the feelings of the people, had not King Agrippa, at great personal risk to himself, interceded with Caligula and caused the hateful order to be recalled.

Another notable riot occurred toward the end of the reign of the Emperor Nero (55-68). This appears to have started at a public meeting which the Alexandrians had called in the theater of the city to discuss the matter of sending an embassy to Nero. A number of Jews attended the meeting, whereupon someone started the cry that they were spies. This was sufficient to awaken the passions of the mob.

In the ensuing melée a number of Jews were slain and three were taken captive. An immediate shout went up to burn these unfortunate victims at the stake. But by this time reinforcements came pouring forth from the Jewish quarters. After routing the Grecians with stones, the aroused defenders marched with torches into the theater and threatened to destroy their enemies with fire. The riot was finally quelled by Tiberius Alexander, the prefect. But when the leaders refused to maintain order, reinforcements were sent for from Lybia and the Jewish quarters were sacked and burned. In the general disorder which followed it is said that some fifty thousand people were killed in Alexandria and in the neighboring country to which the tumult spread.

In the midst of all these violent affairs, the Museum appears now and then as a vague and shadowy figure. Occasional reference to its activities shows that the light of knowledge still glowed, however dimly, in a land of darkness. That the tumults of the golden city swept by its doors, but did not overwhelm it, is attested by reference to a new building called the *Claudium.* This structure was erected by the Emperor Claudius, who became a patron of the ancient shrine of wisdom in the thirteen years of his rule between the tumultuous reigns of Caligula and Nero. Thus, in his *Lives of the Caesars,* Suetonius makes the following reference to the literary efforts and ambitions of Claudius:[1]

> "At last he even wrote historical works in Greek, twenty books of Etruscan History, and eight of Carthaginian. Because of these works there was added to the old Museum at Alexandria a new one called after his name, and it was provided that in the one his Etruscan History should be read from beginning to end each year, and in the other his Carthaginian, by various readers in turn, in the manner of public recitations."

But the floods of time, which finally overwhelmed the material glory of the Museum, have washed away also all vestiges of the historical work of the emperor. Only an echo remains of the passages, which must have rung sonorously through the halls of the Claudium.

---

[1] *The Deified Claudius,* xlii.

5. *Civil War in Alexandria.*

From these affairs it gradually became clear that the Greeks and the Jews could not live together in the close associations of city life without the domination of one group by the other. Riots between them had been occurring at intervals since the founding of the city, for we read in Josephus:[1] "But for Alexandria, the seditions of the people against the Jews was perpetual, and this from the very time when Alexander the Great, upon finding the readiness of the Jews in assisting him against the Egyptians, and as a reward for this assistance, gave them equal privileges in the city with the Grecians, themselves." But the riots, under the loose rule of the Romans, were becoming more frequent and attaining more alarming proportions.

The matter finally reached its culmination in the reign of the Emperor Trajan (98-117). This ghastly affair took place in the period around 116, and led to the virtual extinction of the Jews in Alexandria. It may be added that the economic prosperity of Egypt noticeably declined after the events which we are about to describe. The cause of the original dispute which touched off the explosion is not clear, but it probably is to be found in the enmity of rival embassies which had been sent to Rome by the Greek and Jewish elements of the population to secure an adjudication of their difficulties.

In 114 a small riot occurred which was quelled without difficulty by the government; but in 115, when the Roman forces had been reduced as the result of help sent to the armies engaged in the Parthian war, the Jews rose in general revolt throughout Egypt, Cyrenaica, and the island of Cyprus. The Greeks were taken by surprise and those who dwelt in Egypt outside of Alexandria were massacred in an attempt to annihilate them completely. Those who escaped this terrible slaughter poured into Alexandria, and one can imagine the intense emotions of the multitude when these refugees told their story.

The Roman guard was completely inadequate to cope with the tumult which roared through the streets from one end of the city to the other. Every Jew in the city was put to the sword, man, woman, and child, and the race was virtually exterminated in Alexandria. The Jewish quarter of the city was sacked and burned, and the debris cast into the lake, where it was so great that the Lake Harbor was choked up. In the country around the city the Jewish rebels held the upper hand and they in turn sought out every Greek and put him to the sword. A guerilla warfare then began throughout the country. The Romans in their desperation armed the Egyptian population in an endeavor to bring this ghastly revolution to an end.

---

[1] *Wars of the Jews.* ii, 18, 7.

Man's inhumanity to man has never been better exemplified in all the history of the race than in this violent affair. Although the modern reader may shudder at the tale, perhaps it may sober his reflections about the glorious estate of human society, if he contemplates for a moment the following words of Dio Cassius written more than a half century after the event and recorded in his *Roman History*:[1]

> "And in the meantime the Jews near Cyrene, choosing Andreas as their leader, destroyed both the Romans and the Greeks. They ate the flesh of their victims, made belts from their entrails, and anointed themselves with their blood. Some they cut through the middle from head to foot; others they gave to the wild animals; and still others they compelled to fight as gladiators; so that in all two hundred and twenty thousand perished. In Egypt also they did similar things and in Cyprus, under the leadership of a certain Artimionos. There they slew two hundred and forty thousand. And because of this no Jew may set foot there, and even if he is driven to the island, by the wind, he is put to death."

This somber passage, although written many years after the event, reflects unquestionably a deep-seated bias on the part of Dio Cassius and must be read with skepticism. The number of victims must be grossly exaggerated, especially when one observes that the total number of casualties for the eighteen years of the second Punic War was less than one hundred and fifty thousand. The savageries attributed to the Jews are told by a Roman historian who is mainly silent about comparable savageries which must have occurred on the side of the Greeks. And one must reflect also that it was the Jews who lost and suffered almost complete annihilation in the end. In view of this observation, one should derive from the quoted passage one conclusion – that the civil war was a struggle completely barbaric in character and exploded as the result of bitter racial conflicts within Alexandria and its contiguous territory.

---

[1] lxviii, 32.

But tempests like these finally pass away, although the ravaged landscape will long bear the marks of the storm. And so it was with Alexandria, which after this period never again enjoyed the commercial supremacy that it had held for so many centuries. With the accession of Emperor Hadrian to the precarious throne of the empire, the work of restoration was begun. Many buildings in Alexandria were reconstructed and one of these, perhaps, was the Library of Hadrian, which had been built to hold the public archives. Hadrian himself visited Alexandria in 130 A. D. He became a patron of the Museum and appears to have endowed several professorships in philosophy. During this visit to Egypt the emperor founded the city of Antinoe (Antinoopolis) about two hundred and fifty miles south of Alexandria on the eastern bank of the Nile. This city was created in honor of Antinoüs, who is said to have drowned himself in order to protect the emperor against the fulfillment of an unfavorable oracle.

The last serious riot in this train of explosive events occurred during the reign of Emperor Marcus Aurelius (161-180) in the year 172. This was of considerable interest, because it was an uprising of the native Egyptians as distinct from the people of Alexandria. Under the leadership of a man by the name of Isidorus, the farmers of the marshlands in the Delta in the district known as Bucolia decided to rebel against the Romans. The wily leader dressed his followers as women and they approached the Roman centurion in charge of the guard of the district saying that they were bringing gold as ransom for their husbands. Before their deception was noticed they seized the centurion and killed him. Thereupon, says Dio, "they also sacrificed his companion, and after swearing an oath over his entrails, they devoured them." So violent was this uprising that the city of Alexandria was stormed by the farmers and nearly taken. Reserves were rushed into the affected area from Syria, but Avidius Cassius, the Roman commander, was afraid to risk a battle against so large a force. He therefore resorted to strategy and succeeded in creating internal dissensions in the ranks of the rebels, which caused them to break up into smaller bands that could be dealt with separately.

6. *Alexandria Becomes a King-Maker.*

As one can easily imagine, this explosive Egyptian province might well have been regarded by a pretender as an excellent springboard from which to attempt to gain the unsteady throne of the empire. When an emperor died the turbulence of the times often made an inherited succession difficult, especially when there were many hands ready to wield the dagger or to offer the poisoned cup. And in the sprawling domains of the empire there were maintained large forces, which were necessarily under the command of strong and unscrupulous men. These guards were much like the robber barons of England, who viewed justice and honor by the weight of the broadswords which they commanded. The first of these usurpations in which Alexandria played a part took place at the death of Nero in the year 68. The protagonist of this drama was Vespasian, who was in command of the forces in Syria when the emperor died. The succession was in great confusion, since there were three other contenders for the crown. The first of these was Galba, who died by assassination, the second was Otho, who committed suicide rather than plunge the empire into civil war, and the third was Vitellius, who marched on Rome at the head of troops, which he had recently commanded in Germany.

But the man of the hour in this unsettled moment proved to be Vespasian. His legions proclaimed him emperor. Whereupon Tiberius Alexander, the prefect of Alexandria who had just succeeded in quelling the dangerous riot which we have described earlier, seized the golden moment and compelled the legions to take the oath for Vespasian. The newly proclaimed emperor immediately hastened to Alexandria with the intention of stopping the grain ships to Rome in an endeavor to force recognition of his claims by a threat of famine. The incidents of his visit to Alexandria as told by Suetonius in his *Lives of the Caesars* are interesting since they afford us an example of the highly superstitious character of the age and the influence which the old Ptolemaic god Seraphis still exercised over the affairs of the golden city. Thus reports Suetonius:[1]

---

[1] *The Deified Vespasian.* vii.

"Thereupon, having undertaken a civil war and having sent both generals and troops to Italy, he [Vespasian] crossed to Alexandria in order that he might take possession of this key to Egypt. Seeking there an omen concerning the duration of his power, he sent away all his attendants and entered alone into the temple of Serapis. Having propitiated the god with many offerings, he turned about and it seemed to him that his freedman Basilides offered him sacred boughs and crowns and loaves of bread, as is the custom there. And yet Vespasian knew that no one had let him in, and, indeed, because of his rheumatism he could scarcely walk, and besides was far away. And at once letters came stating that the troops of Vitellius had been routed at Cremona and that the emperor had been slain in Rome.

"But to Vespasian both authority and a certain majesty were lacking since it was clear that he was an unexpected and untried leader. However, these were also added to him in this manner. From the crowd a certain blind man and another who was lame, came to him while he was sitting on the tribunal, and begged for relief from their afflictions as had been promised in a dream by Serapis. For the god had said that the eyes would be cured if he [Vespasian] would spit upon them; the leg would be strengthened, if he deigned to touch it with his heel. Although he was scarcely willing to believe that this would succeed, and therefore was reluctant to try the experiment, he finally, at the exhortation of his friends, made the attempt publically before a large crowd; nor did the event fail. At the same time at Tegea in Arcadia at the instigation of soothsayers certain vases of ancient workmanship were excavated from a sacred place and on them there was an image very like Vespasian."

The Alexandrians, because of their part in the creation of the new emperor, were well disposed toward both him and his son Titus. Their ardor, however, was considerably cooled when Vespasian began to levy new taxes upon them, and, as was their wont, they had revenge in satirical comment. Thus, when he imposed a tax on salt fish, they conferred upon him the name of the "sardine-dealer," and when, irritated by their raillery, he levied a poll tax of six obols, they called him "the six-obler." In spite of a natural good nature, and a sense of obligation imposed by the support given him by the Alexandrians, Vespasian considered punishment for these insults, but was restrained by his son Titus. At a later time, they were not so fortunate.

7. *The Massacre by Caracalla.*

The Alexandrians, as we have noticed in the case of Agrippa, were given to making sport of distinguished visitors. They took an unusual delight in tossing barbs into the sore points of their visitor's record. Although doubtless the gibes were probably given in most cases without genuine malice, the results were not always accepted in the same spirit. Since this behavior, like their tendency to riots, was characteristic of the citizens of the golden city, it is worth more than a casual mention in our history. For dire sometimes were the consequences.

The most fearful price ever paid by the Alexandrians for their levity was during the reign of the monster Caracalla, who, together with his brother Geta, mounted the throne in 211 at the death of their father, the Emperor Septimius Severus. Caracalla was a blood-thirsty degenerate, who gave ample justification to this description by the wanton murder of his brother a short time after their joint accession. In the year 215 Caracalla visited the city of Alexandria, and the citizens, with more bite than usual in their ridicule, mocked him for his foolish aping of heroes like Alexander the Great and shouted sarcastic references to his murder of Geta, besides casting slurs upon his mother. Foolish and wretched people! Could they not foresee the violent reaction of this mad creature to their bitter jests? Did they not realize that the emperor was wandering through his vast domains in order to forget the crime that weighed upon his soul?

Horrible, indeed, were the results of this satire for, according to the account given us by Dio,[1] when the emperor "reached the suburbs, whither the leading citizens had come with certain mystic and sacred symbols, he first greeted them cordially, even making them his guests at a banquet, and then put them to death." This monster of vengeance apparently made his headquarters in the Serapium, and there, under the saturnine visage of the dreadful diety, he watched the slaughter of the citizens. Every man capable of bearing arms was put to the sword and the Roman soldiers swarmed through the streets creating one of the most dreadful massacres in the history of man. And in the midst of this carnage, says Dio, Caracalla, "while slaughtering the Alexandrians and living in the sacred precincts, sent word to the senate that he was performing rites of purification on those very days when he was in reality sacrificing human beings to himself at the same time he sacrificed animals to the god."

---

[1] lxxviii, 23.

Following this wanton destruction all public gatherings were prohibited; teaching in the Museum was stopped, and an order was issued though probably not carried out, that a wall was to be constructed across the city on which guards were to be stationed so that the people could not visit one another.

As the result of such desperate affairs the city of Alexandria and Egypt itself declined greatly in importance. The people were impoverished, commerce declined to a mere fraction of its former importance; the fields were uncultivated for there were few workers left to till them, and silt filled up the water-ways. Thus reverted almost to ruin in the space of two centuries the magnificent city and the fertile lands of the Ptolemies under this barbaric and unstable rule.

8. *Marcus Aurelius Visits Alexandria.*

The second attempt of the Alexandrians to create an emperor met with no such success as in the case of Vespasian. This abortive effort occurred in the year 175 during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, when Avidus Cassius attempted to seize the crown. Cassius was commander of the Roman legions in Syria, and had gained prestige throughout the east by his successful termination of the bucolic revolt in Egypt which we have previously described. Now it appears that Faustina, the wife of the emperor, became alarmed when he fell desperately ill. Thinking that he was about to die, the empress believed that her son Commodus was too young and inexperienced to manage the precarious affairs of the government, and hence she sought a strong hand for the succession. This man she thought she saw in Cassius, and when he was informed erroneously that Aurelius was dead he at once laid claim to the throne.

This was a bitter error, for news soon arrived that the emperor had recovered. But Cassius had now gone too far to turn back, so he gathered his forces together and the Roman empire once more faced the horrors of civil war. The eastern provinces immediately rallied to the banner of the usurper and among these was Egypt, which had every reason to be grateful to him for his success in the rebellion. An added reason was found in the fact that he was the son of a former prefect, Avidius Heliodorus, whom, however, Dio disparages with the curious remark that he "had been content to secure the governorship of Egypt as the reward of his oratorical ability."

But the rebellion was ended, before it had been properly started, by the murder of Cassius; and a direful struggle was thus averted. The emperor, as was his custom, treated his rebellious subjects with great consideration and burned, without reading it, all the correspondence that related to the event. The next year Aurelius visited his eastern provinces, and in the course of these travels arrived in Alexandria. He exacted no penalties for the city's support of Cassius, and merely arrested the ruling prefect. He tarried for a while in the golden city and spent some time in disputations with the philosophers of the Museum.

In Marcus Aurelius we find many of the characteristics of the Philosopher-King dreamed of in the *Republic* of Plato. He was the last distinguished member of the Stoic school of philosophy, and his famous collection of precepts known under the title of *Reflections* or *Meditations* has become a literary classic. "To the gods," he writes, "I am indebted for having good grandfathers, good parents, a good sister, good teachers, good associates, good kinsmen and friends, nearly everything good." Many and striking are the simple thoughts of Marcus Aurelius, the philosopher, and of such universal application that they can be read with profit even by those now struggling with the problems of the modern world. What man ever spoke more nobly than in the following characteristic passage of the *Meditations*?[1]

"And, to say all in a word, everything which belongs to the body is a stream, and what belongs to the soul is a dream and vapor, and life is a warfare and a stranger's sojourn, and after-fame is oblivion. What, then, is that which is able to conduct a man? One thing, and one thing only, — philosophy. But this consists in keeping the *daemon* within a man free from violence and unharmed, superior to pains and pleasures, doing nothing without a purpose, nor yet falsely and with hypocrisy, nor feeling the need of another man's doing or not doing anything; and besides, accepting all that happens, and all that is allotted, as coming from thence, wherever it is, from whence he himself came; and finally, waiting for death with a cheerful mind, as being nothing else than a dissolution of the elements of which every living being is compounded."

---

[1] ii, 17.

It is easily understood why a man who could write such thoughts might look with equanimity upon the storms of life and pass through crises without bitterness of spirit. Not with blood and the cruel sword-thrust did he take vengeance upon the Alexandrian rebels. Rather than this, he visited their temples and their gardens, and sat down awhile with their learned men in the hall of the great Museum and discussed with them the philosophy of living and the satisfaction which accrues to the spirit when one contemplates the mysteries of nature.

9. *Further Adventures in King-Making.*

The third adventure of the Alexandrians in king-making came at the death of Commodus, son of the philosopher. It is one of those strange quirks of fortune that Commodus should have been one of the most evil and sanguinary of all the wicked emperors who sat upon the gilded throne in Rome. Profligate, dissolute, blood-thirsty, this wretched youth finally met his just doom, first by poison, which was not quite potent enough to destroy his evil spirit, and then at the hands of the strangler. Thus in the year 192 the succession of the empire was once more thrown into the lap of the gods.

Numerous adventurous spirits there were who sought the dangerous throne. First of these contenders was Pertinax, a man of upright character, but nearing seventy years of age. After a rule of eighty-six days he was brutally murdered in a mutiny of the praetorian guards. The next contender was the old Senator Didius Julianus, a man of great wealth, whose family thought that he might round out a successful life by wearing the imperial crown. In one of the most wretched bargains ever recorded in history, the old man purchased the empire from the same guards who had slain Pertinax, actually making a public bid against Suplicianus, the emperor's father-in-law and the governor of the city. But the wretched old man, after a tempestuous reign of sixty-six days, placed upon the vast pile of sesterces with which he had purchased the empire, one more gift, the precious one of life itself.

In this turmoil of the succession three other contenders appeared, Claudius Albinus, Septimius Severus, and Pescennius Niger, who held command respectively of the Roman forces in Britain, Illyricum, and Syria. Then began again a new period of civil war in which the forces of Severus finally won the victory and the other two contenders lost their lives. Only one thing in this bit of history interests us, who follow the fate of the Alexandrians during these unsettled centuries. For strange to relate, the citizens of the golden city apparently for once in their reckless existence, stood aside and let the contenders struggle as best they could to secure the doubtful honors. Hence, on this one occasion, the Alexandrians suffered none of the fate that fell to the lot of those involved in the ruin of Niger.

Not so happy, however, was the struggle of the Alexandrians for imperial power on the next occasion. This occurred some time late in the reign of Gallienus (253-268), when the Alexandrian mob compelled Aemilianus, the prefect of Egypt, to accept the position of emperor. This usurpation worked successfully for a while, and the new ruler showed himself to be a man of spirit by driving back the barbarian tribes who had come down the Nile and were plaguing Egypt. But soon Theodotus arrived with troops to support the cause of Gallienus and civil war once more raged in the streets of Alexandria. The city was held by the soldiers of the rival forces and the district between their quarters became a waste of ruined buildings and general desolation. Finally, however, Theodotus gained the upper hand and the unfortunate Aemilianus was sent in chains to Rome.

The aftermath of this wretched adventure was more terrible than any of the others, for now a great plague overwhelmed the city. When it had abated a census showed that the number of people who had survived between the ages of fourteen and eighty years of age was about equal to those between the ages of forty and seventy years in normal times. Actuarial tables indicate that more than one-half of the population had perished in this terrible scourge. If the information is reliable the mortality of this plague thus exceeded that caused by the Black Death during the Middle Ages, which is reputed to have destroyed one-fourth of the population.

10. *The Story of Queen Zenobia.*

The next attempt of the Alexandrians to mingle in the high political affairs of the empire was connected with an interesting drama, for the tale involved the adventures of the famous and beautiful Queen Zenobia. This remarkable lady claimed that she was descended from the Macedonian Ptolemies, and thus the blood which flowed in her veins was the same as that which flowed in the veins of her famous kinswoman, Cleopatra. If this is indeed the case, then we can more readily understand that display of energy and imagination, which led to the adventures of her spectacular career.

According to Gibbon, in one of the noteworthy passages in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* the queen may be described as follows: "Zenobia was esteemed the most lovely as well as the most heroic of her sex. She was of a dark complexion (for in speaking of a lady, these trifles become important); her teeth were of a pearly whiteness, and her large black eyes sparkled with uncommon fire, tempered by the most attractive sweetness. Her voice was strong and harmonious. Her manly understanding was strengthened and adorned by study. She was not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but possessed in equal perfection the Greek, the Syriac, and the Egyptian languages. She had drawn up for her own use an epitome of oriental history, and familiarly compared the beauties of Homer and Plato under the tuition of the sublime Longius."

Now this delectable and intelligent lady was the Queen of Palmyra, which, in the days of which we write, was a city of great wealth and influence situated about 150 miles north-east of Damascus in a large oasis in the Syrian desert. Palmyra derived its position of power from its advantageous location at the intersection of ancient trade routes, one from Phoenicia to the Persian Gulf and the other from the region of southern Arabia. "Palmyra," says Livy[1], "is a city famous for the beauty of its site, the riches of its soil, and the delicious quality and abundance of its water. Its fields are surrounded by sand on every side, and are thus separated, as it were, by nature from the rest of the world."

Queen Zenobia was the wife of Odaenathus, who, until his death in the year 266 was the most powerful ruler in that eastern country and bore the lofty title of the Lord of the Orient. He it was who acted as the bulwark for the Roman empire against the armies of the king of Persia. Zenobia was a worthy consort for this vigorous ruler and with him she enjoyed the excitement of the chase across the desert sands. Clad in military habit she usually rode on horseback, scorning the luxury of a carriage.

---

[1] v, 21.

When her distinguished husband finally perished at the hands of a vengeful nephew, Queen Zenobia immediately sacrificed the rash youth to the memory of the king and seized the reigns of government in her capable hands, since her son Wahaballath, — or Athenodorus, according to his Greek equivalent, — was too young to mount the throne. Driven by an ambition seldom associated with her sex, she dispatched her general Zabda on an expedition to Egypt, under the pretext of restoring this province to the Roman empire, and in 270 her forces were in possession of Alexandria. That Zenobia regarded herself, as her husband had been before her, the defender and ally of the Roman emperor is clearly shown by the fact that the coins struck in Alexandria bear both the name of her son and that of the Emperor Aurelian, who alone is designated as Augustus.

But this extension of the empire of Palmyra soon aroused the suspicions of Aurelian as to its ultimate intentions, which were probably well founded since in later coins the name of the emperor is dropped and Wahaballath and his mother are designated as the King and Queen. However that may be, Aurelian in 270 decided to take vigorous action against the queen and an extensive expedition was organized to reassert Roman authority in the east. The general Probus was dispatched to Egypt and without difficulty he succeeded in 271 in recovering the defective province, which had probably been abandoned by the Palmyrian troops who had hastened to the defense of their own domains.

In the meantime the expedition of Aurelian had been crowned with success for he proceeded by astonishing marches across the desert and soon stood before the walls of Palmyra itself. In this conquest he had overthrown the garrisons of some of the cities in Asia Minor, one of which was Tyana. Here occurred one of those interesting incidents similar to that related about Alexander the Great, who in the destruction of Thebes exempted the family of Pindar from the general ruin. For Aurelian, we are told, treated with lenity the countrymen of the mystical philosopher, Apollonius, whose history we shall tell in detail in another chapter. This throws an interesting light upon the extensive reputation of this sage, and the religious aura with which his name was still associated more than a century and a half after his death.

The success of the expedition of Aurelius was overwhelming, for he captured the city of Palmyra soon after Queen Zenobia and her son, losing their nerve at the spectacle of the Roman legions before their gates, had fled to secure help from the Persian king. The royal pair were intercepted on the banks of the Euphrates river and taken before the emperor. The account of this dramatic meeting is told by Gibbon as follows:[1]

> "When the Syrian queen was brought into the presence of Aurelian, he sternly asked her, how she had presumed to rise in arms against the emperors of Rome? The answer of Zenobia was a prudent mixture of respect and firmness. 'Because I disdain to consider as Roman emperors an Aureolus or a Gallienus. You alone I acknowledge as my conqueror and my sovereign.' But as female fortitude is commonly artificial, so it is seldom steady or consistent. The courage of Zenobia deserted her in the hour of trial; she trembled at the angry clamors of the soldiers who called aloud for her immediate execution, forgot the generous despair of Cleopatra, which she had proposed as her model, and ignominiously purchased life by the sacrifice of her fame and friends. It was to their counsels, which governed the weakness of her sex, that she imputed the guilt of her obstinate resistence; it was on their heads that she directed the vengeance of the cruel Aurelian. The fame of Longinus, who was included among the numerous and perhaps innocent victims of her fate, will survive that of the queen who betrayed, or the tyrant who condemned him. Genius and learning were incapable of moving a fierce unlettered soldier, but they had served to elevate and harmonize the soul of Longinus. Without uttering a complaint, he calmly followed the executioner, pitying his unhappy mistress and bestowing comfort on his afflicted friends."

Cassius Longinus who thus marched nobly to his death, as a philosopher should, belongs to the history of Alexandria, for he studied there under the instruction of Origen, the father of Christian dogma, about whom we shall hear more in due time. From Alexandria he moved to Athens, where he taught for thirty years, one of his most distinguished pupils being Porphyry the Neoplatonist. Apparently Longinus never deserted the old Platonic ideals for the new philosophy that exerted so profound an influence upon the development of Christianity in later years.

---

[1] *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Chap. xi.

But in the meantime dire events were happening in Alexandria. For when Probus left Egypt with his legions to go to the aid of the emperor in his campaign against Palmyra, the inevitable revolt occurred. This was led by a Greek merchant named Firmus, a man of great wealth, who through his trade relations with the east had become an ally and friend of the Palmyrians. At the head of an Egyptian force, he stormed the walls of Alexandria, and declared himself to be the emperor. During his brief reign he coined money, published edicts, and raised an army to defend Egypt from the Roman invader.

But as soon as Aurelian had subdued Palmyra, which incidentally he destroyed completely when the city dared to make a second revolt, the emperor marched upon Alexandria. The rebel army was unable to meet the overwhelming power of the Roman legions and together with Firmus they were driven finally into the area of the Bruchium. To this Aurelian immediately laid siege and in the bitter contest this famous section of the golden city was almost completely destroyed. Firmus was finally taken and put to death by torture.

What finally became of the unfortunate Queen Zenobia? She was taken by Aurelian to grace his triumph held in 274, two years after the successful termination of his eastern conquest. We cannot tarry to describe the magnificence of this event, which rivaled, though it did not exceed, the great festival held in Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The beautiful Zenobia was adorned with jewels and led a captive through the streets with a golden chain around her neck. The emperor did not exact the supreme penalty at the end of his triumph, as was the custom in those barbaric times; but he presented the queen with a beautiful estate upon the banks of the Tiber where she lived with her children the life of a Roman matron.

With these adventures the Alexandrians were still not done with king-making; for shortly after the death of Aurelian, Probus who had conquered Egypt for the emperor, was elevated to the throne by vote of his legions and ruled from 276 to 282.

Another revolt which did not have so fortunate an issue occurred during the reign of Emperor Diocletian. The trouble began in 296 when Lucius Domitius Domitianus, a Roman officer known familiarly to the Alexandrians as Achilleus, usurped the throne and was supported by the turbulent citizens of the golden city. So strongly entrenched was Achilleus that Diocletian himself came to Egypt and laid siege to Alexandria. He first managed to cut off the canals and aqueducts which supplied the city with water, and after a beleaguerment which lasted for eight months, finally succeeded in taking the city. Although the citizens implored the conqueror for mercy, he turned his legions loose upon them and many thousands of people were ruthlessly slaughtered. In this terrible sack a large part of Alexandria was destroyed. And so once more we have the same familiar pattern of man's inhumanity to man, a thread that seems to run through all the governments even down to the present time.

11. *The Persecutions of the Christians.*

During these centuries of events which we have been reviewing there had been developing in Alexandria, as well as in many other parts of the Roman empire, a new movement, which was soon to prove that it contained within itself vast powers. Its strength was such that even the swords of the Roman legions could not form a barrier that would stop it. This was the development of the Christian church.

Since this great tide in the affairs of man deserves special consideration, we shall confine our attention here to one or two events which show the nature of the struggle that had begun. In the reign of Emperor Decius (249-251) there occurred one of the first of the general persecutions of the Christians, who by this time had become strong enough and sufficiently well organized to merit special attention from the government. Although there had been other attempts much earlier to suppress the growth of this new religion, as for example during the reigns of Nero and Septimius Severus, the emperors now began to take more vigorous steps to control this new element in the empire, which contained so much political threat to them.

The persecutions of Decius appear to have been ordered, not as Eusebius, the ecclesiastical historian, has told us, because of the emperor's hatred of Philip, his predecessor, – but rather because he wished to restore the old Roman religion with its lofty codes and its ideals of rectitude. The empire had sunk into a bad state of moral corruption and political decay, which the emperor hoped to correct by a return to ancient virtues. Such a restoration of the religion of his fathers made it necessary for the emperor to attack the new faith that had become so widespread throughout the empire.

There is little doubt that Decius aimed at a complete annihilation of all forms of Christian worship. Although the decree issued in 250 is no longer extant, the comments of contemporary reporters reveal that it attempted to induce the Christians to renounce their faith and embrace the older state religion. When great numbers of them refused to do this, the persecutions were ordered. Churches were destroyed and uncounted numbers of the faithful were put to death. A reign of terror swept the empire and all the latent brutality of man was unleashed in this horrible persecution.

We might turn from such events, so far removed in time from the twentieth century, with the consolation that they took place in a brutal age under the goad of the passions of men who had become inured to cruelty through long association with warfare. Alas! these same passions remain visible in every century since the cruel edict of Decius. And the bath of blood has been even greater and more terrifying in the enlightened years of the twentieth century than in those earlier days of the pagan persecutions. Only nominal reasons change; the cruelty of man toward man runs like a dark thread throughout all history. And we submit that the following account of the persecutions in Alexandria, with a slight alteration of names, would apply equally well to some of the events of our own day and time:[1]

"The persecution among us did not begin with the royal decree, but preceded it an entire year. The prophet and author of evils to this city, whoever he was, previously moved and aroused against us the masses of the heathen, rekindling among them the superstition of their country. And being thus excited by him and finding full opportunity for any wickedness, they considered this the only pious service of their demons, that they should slay us.

---

[1] From the account given by Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria as recorded in the *Church History* of Eusebius, chap. xli.

"They first seized an old man named Metras, and commanded him to utter impious words. But as he would not obey, they beat him with clubs and tore his face and eyes with sharp sticks, and dragged him out of the city and stoned him. Then they carried to their idol temple a faithful woman, named Quinta, that they might force her to worship. And as she turned away in detestation, they bound her feet and dragged her through the entire city over the stone-paved streets, and dashed her against the millstones, and at the same time scourged her; then, taking her to the same place, they stoned her to death. Then all with one impulse rushed to the homes of the pious, and they dragged forth whomsoever any one knew as a neighbor, and despoiled and plundered them. They took for themselves the more valuable property; but the poorer articles and those made of wood they scattered about and burned in the streets, so that the city appeared as if taken by an enemy."

But evils like this finally pass away, after the initial fury has spent itself, like any other storm, and when Decius was slain by the Goths in 251 an abatement of the persecution occurred. But this was only temporary for a war to the death had been started between the Christians, who had a vision of a new order in the world, and the pagans, who sought to maintain the older traditions of the empire. No peace could come until one or the other was finally exterminated.

The next general persecution of the Christians occurred toward the end of the reign of Emperor Diocletian (284-305). A great deal of historical inquiry has been made into the reasons for the issuing of the decree that started the new wave of destruction. For Diocletian had been a ruler of unusual wisdom and virtue, and throughout the first eighteen years of his reign he had shown himself friendly to the Christians. The blame is generally placed upon Galerius, his son-in-law, and successor to the throne, who was a violent opponent of the new faith. It is probable, however, that the underlying motives of Diocletian were similar to those of Emperor Decius, that is to say, his belief that the empire would be strengthened by a revival of the older religion and his fear of the growing political power of the church. But whatever the reasons, the edict of the emperor was published in February 303, "commanding that the churches be leveled to the ground and the Scriptures be destroyed by fire, and ordering that those who held places of honor be degraded, and that the household servants, if they persisted in the profession of Christianity, be deprived of freedom."

Although Diocletian voluntarily relinquished the throne two years later, the persecutions continued until the general edict of toleration was finally issued in 311. The records of the chronicles of these evil years paint a ghastly picture of the inventions which man can make when he sets about the extermination of a political minority that is hateful to him. We shall spare the feelings of the reader by refraining from a description of any of these cruelties which are much better forgotten. But it is sad to observe that "the evil that men do lives after them." For the chronicles of the persecutions which the Medieval Church inflicted upon the helpless minorities, that, in their turn, differed with it, might very readily be copies of the record left us by Eusebius of the persecutions of Diocletian and his successor.

With these comments we shall bring to an end the account of the Roman influences upon Alexandria. Through many of the years of these disturbed centuries the golden city was torn by internal dissension and wild tumult. In the brief periods of quiet a few scholars turned their attention to the literary and scientific records of the past and added another bit to the glorious annals of the old Museum.

But the storms were gathering which were presently to overwhelm the culture of the old tradition and sweep away, along with the ruins of the pagan monuments, the notable scrolls that had brought the ancient world to the very borders of the modern. This story we shall tell in the ensuing pages in connection with some of the dramatic incidents that occurred after the persecutions of Diocletian and his predecessors had given way to a greater toleration.

CHAPTER 12

THE NEOPLATONISTS

1. *The Metaphysical World*

NATURE IS AN EXACTING DIETY. When you worship her your life is a stony path. Her mysteries are not revealed by oracles and her rites are not celebrated by Eleusinian festivals. It is true that she is worshiped through sacred objects and the hierophant utters magical cries about them. But this worship is deepest in the laboratory where the objects are examined and the magical cries are the symbols of the scientist in his efforts at interpretation. Differing from the priests in the temples of the Hellenic gods, the worshiper of Nature seeks to reveal her mysteries and not to conceal them secretly from others.

The worship of Nature has persisted probably as long as the worship of other gods, but there have been times when the temples were razed and the faithful scattered. In other periods they have been restored and the votaries have waxed great and powerful. Their simple faith has been expressed perhaps most elegantly, not by the Alexandrians of whom we write, but by the modern Henri Poincaré, who once said[1]:

"The scientist does not study Nature because she is useful; he studies her because he delights in her, and he delights in her because she is beautiful. If Nature were not beautiful, she would not be worth knowing, and if Nature were not worth knowing, life would not be worth living. Of course I do not here speak of the beauty which strikes the senses, the beauty of qualities and of appearance; not that I undervalue such beauty, far from it, but it has nothing to do with science; I mean that profounder beauty which comes from the harmonious order of the parts and which a pure intelligence can grasp. This it is which gives body, a structure so to speak, to the iridescent appearances which flatter our senses and without this support the beauty of these fugitive dreams would be only imperfect, because it would be vague and always fleeting. On the contrary, intellectual beauty is sufficient unto itself, and it is for its sake, more perhaps than for the future good of humanity, that the scientist devotes himself to long and difficult labors."

---

[1] *Foundations of Science*, pp. 366-367.

Now the members of the great Museum in its golden period had laid a broad foundation for the worship of Nature. The earth and the stars, the tides of the ocean and the objects of the land, the mysteries of the human body and the forces of air and steam, had been examined. Science was on the march. And then, as if by magic, a blight fell upon the expedition. The votaries were scattered and their mysteries forgotten. A new force, great and powerful, swept over the Hellenistic world. This was the force initiated by the philosophical school of the Neoplatonists.

It is difficult, indeed, to describe in words and with that precision which one expects in science, the nature and beliefs of *Neoplatonism* and its closely related system known as *Neopythagoreanism.* For in them we find none of the concrete symbols of science, none of the phenomenal objects of the natural world, nor, indeed, a symbolic language such as that used by the mathematicians which, in spite of its abstract nature, still refers to numbers, points, lines, planes, and other configurations that find identification in the real world.

For these new philosophers talked about a world of things transcendent to natural experience, a world of concepts created from their fancy and limited by none of the restrictions imposed upon the scientist by nature herself. These concepts, vague and indefinable, belonged to the realm of the metaphysical. To them were affixed words, the *One* from which flowed all being, the *Intellect* or *Nous,* which apprehended the real world, the *Soul* which pervades nature, and finally the realm of *Nature* itself.

After one has struggled with the dissertations of the philosophers on these subjects, the piling of words on words, the subtle distinctions between the systems, the vague and unsatisfactory arguments, he appreciates a little better the ironical story of *Micromegas* as told by Voltaire. Micromegas was a giant traveler from a satellite of the great Sirius and in the course of his adventures he approached the earth. Seeing a vessel upon the ocean he descended to inspect it and found that it contained a group of philosophers who were discussing Aristotle's concept of the soul. Micromegas could not follow the argument for the philosophers were using the Greek language. And this was quite right, said Voltaire, since "it is but reasonable that we should quote what we do not comprehend in a language which we do not understand."

But one cannot omit from the story of the golden city an extensive account of this philosophical movement, since it had not only the most profound influence upon the history of Alexandria, but upon the entire world for centuries thereafter. Never in human history has there been observed so powerful a force in the affairs of mankind as that aroused by the discussion of these transcendental concepts, unless, indeed, it is the scientific revolution which has gained so much momentum in recent times.

2. *The Influence of Philo.*

While the beginnings of the movement are much earlier, it is probable that our story should begin with Philo. For Philo and these other philosophers of whom we write were the products of the tradition of Athens, which had been largely lost sight of in the new knowledge and the new adventures of the scholars of the Alexandrian Museum.

Philo, born of Jewish parents, was the first notable Alexandrian philosopher. Little is known about his life except that he was born sometime around 20-10 B. C. and died after 40 A. D. He is believed to have come from a rich and influential family since his father Alexander was *alabarch,* that is to say, the chief farmer of taxes, on the Arabic side of the Nile. He apparently spent his life in Alexandria, except for a brief trip to Rome, where he went as the head of an embassy to Emperor Caligula to protest against the emperor's insistence on divine honors from the Jews. Although he thus lived during much of the life-time of Christ, John the Baptist, and St. Paul, there is no mention of any of them in his writings. Various church writers of later times have claimed that Philo, while in Rome during the reign of Claudius, met St. Peter, but there is no trustworthy evidence to support this view.

The interest in Philo is derived from the fact that he was the first of a long chain of writers who diverted pure philosophical speculations into religious channels and thus laid the foundations for the great political events which were a consequence of these movements. It is true that he had a predecessor in the Jewish philosopher Aristobulus, who flourished during the reign of Ptolemy VII, Philometor, in the second century B. C., but the thoughts of men were then on other matters and it was not until the time of Philo that this current of metaphysical speculation began to have its effect. We have only fragments of the work of Aristobulus, but these are enough to show us that his ideas were strikingly similar to those later developed by Philo.

The object sought for by Philo appears to have been an electicism between Greek philosophies and the tenets of the Jewish religion; that is to say, he wished to harmonize these two streams of abstract thought and to show that they were in essential agreement. For Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Plato, and the Stoics he had the highest veneration and his general scheme was in complete harmony with their teachings. From Aristotle he borrowed little, but from the doctrines of Pythagoras, Plato, and the Stoics he derived his principal inspiration. As with many other philosophers of later times he was deeply intrigued by the most mystical of the writings of Plato, the *Timaeus.* This strange dialogue, filled with unintelligible symbolism and fantastic number concepts, purports to describe the creation of the world. In every line it is the antithesis of the scientific and the rational. Undefinable words appear such as the *Demiurge*, whose primary operation is to construct the *World-Soul.* This in turn is composed of three elements, *Sameness*, *Otherness*, and *Being.* *"Midway between the Being,"* says Plato, *"which is indivisible and remains always the same and the Being which is transient and divisible in bodies, He blended a third form of Being compounded out of the twain, that is to say, out of the Same and the Other; and in like manner He compounded it midway between that one of them which is indivisible and that one which is divisible in bodies."*

If it were not for the fact that these are the words of the divine Plato they would certainly be characterized as arrant nonsense. And were it not for the fact that this dialogue greatly colored the writings of Philo and the thought of the Neoplatonists who followed him, and through them the development of Christian dogma, we might lightly dismiss them as the words of a brilliant intellect wandering among matters quite unintelligible to him. But with the *Timaeus* we are at the fountainhead of one of the greatest movements in human history, a movement that was to develop in Alexandria during the next four centuries and was finally to affect the lives of all mankind. It is instructive, therefore, to see the muddy stream from which in later times was to come the great torrent that swept over and engulfed the world.

Philo is properly called a Neopythagorean, because he derived from the school of Pythagoras an inclination toward number magic. Mathematics is one of the greatest developments of the human mind, not alone for its esthetic beauty, but also for its ability to measure and interpret many of the phenomena of the natural world. But it has been used at times for another purpose, to set up a mystical connection between the mind and the esoteric concepts of metaphysics. This is a tawdry use of mathematics which defiles a beautiful subject and reflects discredit upon the proponents of such an application. A specious validity appears to be given to arguments based upon the property of numbers, and followers of the Pythagorean mysteries are characterized by the introduction of these inadmissible arguments. Thus we find a certain veneration for things which are measured by six, for six is what is known as a *perfect number* since it is the sum of its factors, that is, $1 + 2 + 3 = 6$.

Of this characteristic of Philo's writing we may exhibit the following passage taken from his work *On the Account of the World's Creation given by Moses:*

"He says that in six days the world was created, not that its Maker required a length of time for His work, for we must think of God as doing all things simultaneously, remembering that 'all' includes with the commands which He issues the thought behind them. Six days are mentioned because for the things coming into existence there was need of order. Order involves number, and among numbers the one most suitable to productivity is 6, for if we start with 1 it is the first perfect number, being equal to the product of its factors (namely, $1 \times 2 \times 3$), as well as made up of the sum of them (namely, $1 + 2 + 3$) its half being 3, its third part 2, its sixth part 1. We may say that it is in its nature both male and female, and is a result of the distinctive power of either. For among things that are it is the odd that is male, and the even female. Now of odd numbers 3 is the starting-point, and of even numbers 2, and the product of these two is 6. For it is the requisite that the world, being the most perfect of all things that have come into existence, should be constituted in accordance with a perfect number, namely 6; and, inasmuch as it was to have in itself being that sprang from a coupling together, should receive the impress of a mixed number, namely the first in which odd and even were combined, one that should contain the essential principle both of the male that sows and of the female that receives the seed."

Nonsense of this sort is found in many places in Philo, where he insists in giving significance to such particular numbers as 4, 6, 7, 10, and others. At the conclusion of one of his arguments he says: "The result of all this is that the number is a thing of vast importance." One may well wonder how profound truth could come out of such naivete.

The central theme of Philo's system is the concept of God, an entity entirely bare of quality and attributes. From the Stoics he borrows their term *Logos*, that is to say, the *Reason* which operates in the world. He endeavors to trace the connection between these abstract ideals and the actual affairs of man, – the means employed in the transmission of the divine forces. In its barest outline his scheme is a mixture of the Platonic doctrine of Ideas and the concept of a Soul of the World with the Stoics' identification of God with the Logos or Reason. Although the Stoic doctrine leads inevitably to a pantheism, Philo wished to preserve in his theory the unity of God.

Now these vague and unsatisfactory formulations, – the use of words essentially undefinable, the insistence of the attributes of pure number as important, – may seem trivial matters to us, interesting perhaps to those who trace the history of metaphysics, but not to more practical men. But we shall see later that this was far from being the case. The bitter and bloody conflicts of the early Church arose out of disputes about precisely these things, the nature of God, whether He was a single or a multifold being, and the character of his relationship with mankind. From such curious origins thus come some of the most powerful forces in human history.

3. *Plotinus and the Neoplatonists.*

Probably the most characteristic, and certainly the most influential representatives of the Neoplatonic doctrines who followed Philo, were Ammonius Saccas, who flourished during the third century A.D.; his pupil Plotinus; Porphyry, who studied under Plotinus; Iamblichus, the chief representative of Syrian Neoplatonism; and Proclus, who carried on the Platonic tradition after it had been overwhelmed in Alexandria at the end of the fourth century A. D. Other names could be added to this list, but these are the most important.

Ammonius Saccas, that is to say, Ammonius the *Sackbearer*, is generally accredited with being the founder of the Neoplatonist school of philosophy. He came from a humble home in Alexandria and seems to have made his living as a porter, from which comes his nickname. Although the date of his birth is not known his death occurred somewhere between 240 and 245 A. D., so that he flourished probably near the beginning of the third century.

After a long period of study and meditation he opened a school of philosophy in Alexandria. This seems to have attracted considerable attention, and certainly exerted profound influence, for among his pupils are found Herennius Origen, the Neoplatonist, Origen, the Christian theologian, Cassius Longinus, Greek rhetorician and philosophical critic, and Plotinus, who became the most important exponent of Neoplatonism. Since Ammonius left no written record of his teaching we must infer what it was from Plotinus. Writing in the fifth century, Hierocles says that Ammonius directed his main attention to reconciling the differences between the teachings of Aristotle and Plato.

Plotinus, born of Roman parents at Lycopolis in Egypt in 204 A. D., was a colorful character, who attracted many adherents to Neoplatonism and may be regarded as the intellectual founder of this philosophy. He attended the lectures of Ammonius Saccas in Alexandria until 242, when he joined an expedition to Persia under the leadership of the youthful and inexperienced Roman emperor, Gordian III, in order that he might study eastern philosophical systems at first hand. But when Gordian was assassinated in 244, Plotinus was forced to flee and he took refuge in Antioch, from which city he finally made his way back to Rome. There he set up a school of philosophy and by his eloquence and personality contrived to capture a distinguished following. Among his pupils were Amelius, Eustochius, and Porphyry. Even the Emperor Gallienus and his wife Salonina were among his admirers and his patronage naturally added many patricians to his following. The emperor at one time discussed with him the proposition of founding a utopia on the site of the ruined city in Campania, wherein the ideal Republic of Plato might be given a trial. The new city was to be called Platonopolis and was to attempt to attain the status of the perfect commonwealth. Unfortunately for sociology, but probably fortunately for Plotinus, the counselors of Gallienus opposed the idea and nothing was done toward carrying out the undertaking.

Plotinus, himself, was an object of veneration by those around him. It was believed that he had magical powers, could foretell events, and even command demons. He appears to have had slight interest in science. Thus, although he had much to say about the stars, he knew nothing about the calculation of eclipses, the methods of estimating astronomical distances, or knowledge about the paths of the planets. Indeed, he considered this knowledge much lower than that of the pure and abstract realms of philosophy with which he dealt. It must be placed to his credit, however, that he investigated the doctrines of the astrologers and found them to be without merit.

During the reign of Gallienus a pestilence broke out in Rome from which Plotinus became infected and he was apparently in ill health during the remainder of his life. He finally withdrew to the estate of one of his friends in Campania and died there in the year 270 at the age of sixty-six years.

As a student in the school of Ammonius Saccas, Plotinus became acquainted with the Platonic mysticism and endeavored to fuse it with the principles of Pythagoras and certain Oriental metaphysics. The results of his teaching he collected into a series of fifty-four treatises, which were arranged by Porphyry into six *Enneads* (Nines). These *Enneads* thereafter became the great Bible of the Neoplatonists. Many of these volumes bore attractive titles, such, for example, as the following: *On the Circular Motion of the Heavens*, *Whether the*

Stars Effect Anything, On the Daemon Allotted to Us, On the Essence of the Soul, On Numbers, On Eternity and Time, On Intelligible Beauty.

The teachings of Plotinus are purely metaphysical with strong religious implications. He conceives of a primeval Being, and the eternal Soul, which manifests its activities in the phenomenal world. He shows how the soul came to depart from its first estate, and then introduces the practical religious precepts by means of which it can again return to the Eternal. So strongly did he believe in his own metaphysics that his last words are said to have been: "And now I endeavor that my divine part may return to that divine nature which flourishes throughout the universe."

To us, in this later day, the words of Plotinus sound strange and unintelligible in many respects, for they are a mingling of metaphysical speculation with concepts difficult to reduce to language. Thus, in speaking *On the Essence of the Soul,* he begins as follows:

> "In investigating the essence of the soul, if we show that it is neither body, nor the harmony in incorporeal natures; and likewise, if we omit what is said of its being the *entelechy,*[1] or perfection of the body, as not true, as the words imply, and as not manifesting what the soul is; and if also we should say that it is of an intelligible nature, and a divine allotment, perhaps we shall assert something perspicuous concerning its essence. At the same time, however, it will be better to proceed still further than this. For this purpose, therefore, we shall make a division into a sensible and intelligible nature, and place soul in the intelligible."

At another place, writing *On the Good, or the One,* Plotinus emphasizes the importance of the concept of the One, that is to say, if we can interpret him aright, the idea of the thing as a whole. Perhaps here, we find an older form of the fundamental notions of the *Gestalt* psychology of our own day. Thus he says:

"All beings are beings through *the One,* both such as are primarily beings and such as in any respect whatever are said to be classed in the order of beings. For what would they be, if they were not one? For if deprived of unity, they are no longer that which they are said to be. For neither would an army, or a choir, exist, unless each of them was one. Neither would a herd exist, if it were not one. But neither would a house or a ship have an existence, unless they possess *the One;* since a house is one thing, and also a ship, which one if they lose, the house will no longer be a house, nor the ship a ship. Continued magnitudes, therefore, unless *the One* is present with them, will not have an existence."

---

[1] Aristotle introduced the word *entelechy* to mean that quality by means of which a thing attains its perfection of form. He identified it with the soul. Later Leibniz (1646-1716) adopted the term as a designation for his *monads,* or atoms of intelligence.

Turning at random through the pages of the works of Plotinus, we receive little satisfaction if we desire to know the nature of the universe in terms of the phenomenal world, that is to say, the world of science. One more example is perhaps enough to show the character of the writing of a man, who held so great a sway over the imagination of the scholars of his time. Thus, in his *Discussion of Doubts Relative to the Soul,* he speaks as follows:

"The souls of men, however, beholding the images of themselves, like that of Bacchus in a mirror, were from thence impelled to descend; yet were not cut off from their principle and from intellect. For they did not descend in conjunction with intellect; but proceeded as far as to the earth, their heads being at the same time established above the heavens... At the same time, likewise, all things are arranged by one reason, with reference to the ascent and descent of souls, and every other particular. The symphony, however, of souls with the order of the universe, which nevertheless are not suspended from the universe, but co-adapt themselves in their descent, and make one accord with earthly circulation, is testified by this, that their fortunes, lives, and deliberate elections, are signified by the figure of the stars."

We cannot turn with ridicule from these strange words of that old philosopher; nor, indeed, is it fair to contrast his muddy metaphysics with the clear and powerful thoughts of Euclid, and Archimedes, and Hipparchus, and the other scientists of an earlier day in Alexandria. For the minds of men seized these words with eagerness, while they turned aside uncomprehendingly from the golden thoughts of science. For fourteen centuries these metaphysical ideas were to be the lodestone of the human race in its attempt to penetrate the mysteries of nature and of human life. The thoughts of Saint Augustine (354-430), Saint Thomas Aquinas (1227-1274), John Duns Scotus (c. 1265-c. 1308), William of Occam (d. 1349) and many other scholars of that later age were deeply colored by Plotinus and his school. Nor, indeed, need we look far afield to find their descendants and followers in our own times. For the soul and its nature will be a favorite speculation so long as the thoughts of men shall turn to the problems of metaphysics. Nor will science probably ever satisfy this yearning of the human spirit, or challenge, through its discoveries, the interest of those who today follow in the footsteps of the Neoplatonists.

4. *The Teachings of Porphyry.*

The mantle, dropping from the shoulders of Plotinus, fell upon the shoulders of his famous pupil, Porphyry, who labored throughout most of his life to explain and interpret the philosophical teachings of his master. He was born at Tyre, or Batanaea, in Syria in 233 A. D., and studied grammar and rhetoric under Cassius Longinus in Athens. His original name was Malchus, which, in the Semitic languages means "a king." This he first Hellenized into the Greek word "Basileus," but later transliterated it into "Porphyrius," which means purple, referring thus to the color of regal garments. And as Porphyry he has been known ever since in the history of philosophy.

Porphyry apparently arrived in Rome about 262 and in that city soon came under the influence of Plotinus, whose biographer and ardent interpreter he was finally to become. For six years he studied the doctrines of Neoplatonism, but close application to studies finally undermined his health, and he retired to Sicily for a period of five years. During his residence there Plotinus died, so Porphyry finally returned to Rome and began to teach. His most distinguished pupil was Iamblichus, about whom we shall give some account later.

When advanced in years Porphyry married Marcella, a friend who had devoted herself to philosophy. She was a widow with seven children, and Porphyry aided her in bringing up this large family. She apparently was persecuted by her neighbors, as we learn from a letter by her husband, in which he exhorts her to persist in her devotion to philosophy. Porphyry died about 304 at the age of seventy-one.

The writings of Porphyry were voluminous, dealing with a great many subjects, but few of them are extant. His *Life of Plotinus* and his *Life of Pythagoras*, part of which has been preserved, apparently formed sections of a large work on the history of philosophy. His critical works on Aristotle consisted of an *Introduction* to and a *Commentary* on the *Categories* of that author. The first of these was translated into Latin by Boëtius and formed an important compendium of Aristotle's system of logic during the Middle Ages. He wrote a history, *The Chronicles*, which extended from the fall of Troy to the year 270 A. D.

His most important work, however, was an attack upon the teachings of the early Christian church, written in fifteen books, entitled *Against the Christians*, only fragments of which remain. His main thesis in this treatise appears to have been that of historical criticism, as one may judge from comments on the *Book of Daniel*, in which he argued, according to Jerome, that the events predicted had already taken place before the book was written.

His philosophy differed very little from that of Plotinus, although in the process of the transmigration of souls, he did not allow them to inhabit the bodies of animals. The tales of men transformed into animals he dismissed with ridicule.

Porphyry was a believer in the pagan gods of his time and one of his great complaints against the Christians was that they were undermining faith in the established order. But these gods he regarded as evil demons, who, masquerading as divinities, demanded sacrifices from their worshipers and by their oracles pandered to the lower desires of the people. Only in the philosophical contemplation of the soul, and the nature of God, is one able to escape the baleful influences of these harmful deities.

5. *Iamblichus, the Mystic.*

The torch of Neoplatonism fell next into the hands of Iamblichus, the most distinguished of Porphyry's pupils, as we have already said. Iamblichus was apparently born at Chalcis in Coele-Syria, but the date of his birth is not known. He died, however, about 330 A. D.

He seems to have been a genial and sociable character, who found much pleasure in the company of his pupils. He studied under Porphyry at Rome, but probably did his own teaching in his native city of Chalcis. He wrote numerous books of which only four have come down to us: (1) *On the Pythagorean Life;* (2) *The Exhortation to Philosophy;* (3) *On the General Science of Mathematics;* (4) *The Arithmetic of Nicomachus.* Although the celebrated book entitled *On the Egyptian Mysteries,* which attempted to justify the polytheistic cults of the day, was ascribed to Iamblichus, its authorship is in doubt. However, it probably originated in his school.

With Iamblichus we see a continuation of the same mysticism and esoteric tendencies of the original Neoplatonism. About the master there hovers a tradition of magic. The ability to float in the air and the power to undergo transformations were ascribed to him, although he is said to have denied possessing such magical attributes. By his disciples he was regarded as almost divine and this reputation clung to his name down to the Neoplatonic revival of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

To the system of his predecessors he added little. Since he had made some progress in mathematics, that is to say, in the theory of numbers, it was natural that he should differentiate his system from those of his predecessors by the addition of more number-forms after the manner of Pythagoras; in this, however, he only followed in the footsteps of Philo.

One theorem is ascribed to him, which may amuse the reader. *Write down three numbers in succession such that the last one is divisible by three, as for example, 730, 731, and 732. Now add together the digits of these three numbers, that is to say,* $7 + 3 + 0 + 7 + 3 + 1 + 7 + 3 + 2 = 33$. *Once more add the digits of this number,* $3 + 3$. *Then,* says Iamblichus, *the final sum, which must be carried through several steps in the case of large numbers, will always be, as in the present case, the number* 6. Not profound mathematics, it is true, but sufficiently ingenious to attract the attention of those who sought to enumerate the various hierarchies of the soul.

6. *The School of Proclus.*

From Iamblichus, we pass next to Proclus, who, though born in Constantinople in 410 A. D., was brought up at Xanthus in Lycia. He is a true disciple of the Alexandrian school for he studied in the golden city under Olympodorus, the peripatetic, before he moved to Athens to continue his studies. He must have seen much of the turbulence in Alexandria during his sojourn in that city, for Cyril, under whose rule the Christian mobs had destroyed the school of Hypatia and taken the life of that beautiful pagan, remained as bishop until 444 A. D. With the tide running so strongly against Neoplatonism and its adherents in Alexandria during this period, there is ample reason why Proclus should have moved to Athens.

In Greece Proclus attended lectures of the Neoplatonists – Plutarch (c. 350-430) and Syrianus. He succeeded the latter as head of the school. Because of his pagan teaching he was forced by Christian antagonism to withdraw to Asia Minor, but after a year's absence he returned again to Athens and lived there until his death in 485. Although Proclus came from a wealthy family, he lived a life of asceticism and was noted for his gifts to the poor.

Let us observe again that the same reputation for knowledge of magic clings to Proclus as it did to the others of the Neoplatonic school. His disciples believed that he was endowed with the power to perform miracles. He is said to have held belief in reincarnation and thought that he himself possessed the soul of Nicomachus, a Neopythagorean philosopher and mathematician, who flourished about 100 A. D. We have already noticed that this same philosopher had exerted an influence upon Iamblichus, who edited his *Introduction to Arithmetic.* Apparently Proclus, with his strong tendency toward the mystical, was attached to this author by a work, now lost, on *The Theology of Arithmetic,* in which the properties of numbers were entwined with the origin and attributes of the gods. Proclus claimed much for the domain of philosophy and made his famous remark that "the philosopher should be the chief priest of the whole world." In order to live up to this proposition he was in the habit of celebrating not only Greek festivals, but the festivals of Egypt and Chaldea as well. On certain days he performed rites in honor of the dead. He would first visit the tombs of the Attic heroes, then those of the philosophers, and finally those of his friends. Returning to the Academy he would pour libations to the souls of those nearest to him by blood and race, then to the souls of the philosophers, and finally to the souls of all men everywhere.

As one may well believe Proclus early came under the spell of the *Timaeus* of Plato, and about its mysteries he wrote an extensive treatise. He has been quoted as saying that he wished that it were in his power to withdraw from the knowledge of men all books except the *Timaeus* and the *Sacred Oracles.*

Proclus was the author of many works, not only in philosophy, but in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, and grammar as well. His greatest literary activity was devoted to commentaries on the dialogues of Plato, and a more extensive elaboration of the Platonic system in his work on the *Platonic Theology.* The principles of Neoplatonism were expounded in his *Theological Elements.* Other philosophical works include the *Elements of Physics, or Concerning Motion,* a compendium of the last five books of Aristotle's *On Physical Hearing,* an essay on *Fate and Providence, Ten Doubts about Providence,* and the *Substance of Evils.*

The mathematical and astronomical writings of Proclus include commentaries on both the geometry of Euclid and the astrological work of Claudius Ptolemy, an essay on spheres, and an introduction to the systems of Hipparchus and Ptolemy entitled *A Sketch of the Foundations of Astronomy.* Of these the most interesting and important to us are the commentaries on Euclid, for this work contains almost our only source of information regarding the history of early geometry. It is also very interesting to learn from this work that the famous fifth postulate of Euclid concerning the uniqueness of parallel lines was subject to suspicion even in those earliest days of mathematics. Proclus himself attempted to give a proof of this postulate, but of necessity failed.

Proclus was also the author of several hymns addressed to the pagan deities of Greece. This is interesting in itself for it shows that the philosophical speculations upon the one god and the soul of man were not enough to shake faith in the older forms of worship. Nor, indeed, was philosophy sufficient unto itself, for the mind of man has always found the need to attach objects of worship to his temples and his sacred rites.

The additions to Neoplatonism which were made by Proclus were largely in the multiplying of modes by means of which the world emanates from the three spheres of abstract nature. The first of these is being, the second is identified with life, and the third with thought. These spheres are then divided into other parts, the first two into triads, and the third into seven hebdomads. The soul is divided into divine, daemonic, and human classes, and the gods are arranged in a number of types. Below the gods are the daemons, which are divided into angels, demons, and heroes. The souls which inhabit the bodies of men as a temporary home belong to an order lower than the daemons. Through all of this division, which is determined by the magical properties of number, we find the number-worship of the Pythagoreans.

7. *The Vast Influence of the Movement.*

Perhaps this brief account of the history of Neoplatonism and of the lives of those who developed it may suffice as a picture of this great movement, which was to dominate the thoughts of men for centuries to come. In it we find all the patterns of the philosophy of the Middle Ages, the activities of the school men, the endless arguments of the theologians, and the vast power which Christian dogma finally came to have. Although the fathers of the church, except St. Augustine, would violently deny their debt to Neoplatonism, and, in fact, placed it among the pagan monuments which were marked for destruction, the evidence of history is against them. The same mystical rites, the same abstract concepts, the same soul, the same unattainable and indescribable god, the same demons, the same asceticism, the same arguments over the nature of the trinity, the same Logos, permeate both systems.

Together they developed in spite of savage controversies and bloody feuds, and when the great stagnation of the Middle Ages finally enveloped the world, it was to the writings of Plotinus, Iamblichus and Proclus and their followers that the later churchmen turned for ideas and inspiration. What Neoplatonism lacked that Christianity possessed was a divine being, who could bridge for its disciples the great chasm between the abstract ideas of mysterious nature and the pressing problems of a world of men crying for light and comfort. This the Neoplatonists could not give men in the life and works of their master, the author of the *Timaeus*.

CHAPTER 13

WHO IS THE TRUE GOD?

1. *The Five Statues in the Emperor's Shrine*

IT IS RELATED THAT the Emperor Alexander Severus (205-235 A. D.) had in his private chapel as objects of his veneration not images of the gods of the Roman pantheon, but statues of Alexander the Great, Orpheus, Apollonius of Tyana, Abraham, and Christ. This story illustrates the state of confusion which then prevailed in the Roman empire in the matter of man's relationship to the world of the spirit, which was the normal domain of religion. This might, perhaps, have been of no great concern to the patrician Romans, whose province and interests were not in matters of the spirit, but in the more practical affairs of law and government, were it not for the fact that the violent passions of the proponents of the various sects brought them into conflict with political matters. Hence the abstract nature of God, and the relationship of God to his inspired prophet, became subjects of great political concern.

It is perhaps significant to note that the images in the chapel of Severus were of characters whose main reputation came out of the mystical east. The Alexander of Severus was not the Alexander whose story we have already told, but the hero of the romantic legends of Babylon and Egypt, – the Alexander who lassoed a demon, who cured the sick, and killed the dragon of the mountain.

Orpheus was not the sweet singer of the Greeks, but the mystical Thracian who founded a religion with codes of rules, an esoteric theology, and strange mysteries about which Clement of Alexandria says: "Under cover of music they have outraged human life, being influenced by demons, through some artful sorcery, to compass man's ruin." Apollonius, about whom we shall hear more, came from Asia Minor in the region north of the island of Cyprus. Abraham originated in southern Babylonia and dwelt in the land of Canaan. Christ was born in Judea. Seen in this distant time through the veil of mystery which envelopes them, these five strange personalities with their transcendent powers, their miracles, and the legends about them have much in common. They all played a part in the dramatic history of the Alexandrians.

In order that we may understand more fully the movement which began in Alexandria after the Roman occupation and spread throughout the civilized world, let us return again to the philosophical school of Plotinus and his followers which we have described in the last chapter.

The great difficulty with Neoplatonism, and the barrier to its spread among the masses of the people, resided principally in the fact that no personal deity was associated with its abstract concepts. The people hungered for some living symbol which might be identified with the troubles and misfortunes that must continually beset them. What satisfaction was it, indeed, to reflect upon the mystery of the *One*, when hunger gnawed at the belly and chill winds pierced the ragged cloak? Or in what manner could the *World-Soul*, or the *Demi-Urge*, give comfort to those afflicted, or to those fleeing in despair from the wolf who snapped at their heels?

In many of the dark days that followed the fall of Alexandria before the legions of Octavius, the life of the people must have been a somber affair. History does not tell us much about the lives of common folk, but the very fact of the religious movement itself is sufficient for our deduction, since religion is a natural concomitant of pain and suffering. Can one wonder, then, that a refuge was sought for by the people against the storms of a life which was no longer gay and full of music? To what sacred symbol, indeed, could they turn, when bloody Caracalla smirked from his temple as sons and husbands and fathers were mercilessly cut down? Not, surely, to the abstract Logos, or to the daemons of Neoplatonism, or to the ancient gods of Greece and Egypt, or to the sacred shrines where omens could foretell no good from an environment that had become harsh and cruel.

A more personal deity was urgently needed by the people, one created in their own image, one who had moved among them as a man and understood their troubles. For had not Xenophanes of Colophon (570-480 B. C.) many years before made the following statement?

"But if cattle or lions had hands, so as to paint with their hands and produce works of art as men do, they would paint their gods and give them bodies like their own, – horses like horses, cattle like cattle."

2. *The Romance of Alexander.*

Let us examine again the symbols which stood in the shrine of the Emperor Severus and see what they signified. Let us lift from its pedestal the image of Alexander, this figure with its hair like the mane of a lion, and its two ram's horns symbolizing kinship with the god Ammon.

This is not the Alexander that lies buried in the Sema, but another that time and fancy have created from him. His father is not Philip of Macedonia, nor was he begot in distant Pella, for this Alexander whom we hold in our hands is the child of Pseudo-Callisthenes, and he was born here in Alexandria in the second century A. D. He is a god, possessed of magical powers; his enemies fall not before the deadly phalanx and the stout cornel spears of the Macedonians, but before the powers of the supernatural.

Although excellent accounts of the factual history of Alexander the Great were available to those who would read them, – the writings of Arrian based upon the stories of Ptolemy and Aristobulus, – the romantic life of the hero was a subject for the teller of tales, and a glow of fancy began to envelop the figure of Alexander.

As we have already related in an earlier chapter, Callisthenes was a philosopher who accompanied the king through many of his adventures, until he was finally put to death because of an unpolitic desire to speak the truth. His principal quarrel with Alexander, it will be remembered, was actually over the question of the divine origin of the king, and Alexander's assumption of the rights of worship due only to a god. How strange is fate! For it was the history of Callisthenes that was made the basis of the romance of Alexander, which transferred the king from the realm of a man to the hierarchy of the gods. History has attempted to make some amends to the name of Callisthenes, for the romance of Alexander is ascribed to Pseudo-Callisthenes. Who the author of these tales actually was is not known clearly today, and we learn the romance in its principal recension from a Latin translation which was made by Julius Valerius and Leo the Archpresbyter in the third or fourth century. The original was ascribed to a certain Aesopus, believed to have been an Egyptian writer who lived in Alexandria during the second century.

As is the way with tales of fancy, the romance grew as it passed from tongue to tongue. In Armenia it was told beside the winter hearths, and in Ethiopia the romancers related it around the camp fires at night, filling the adventures with the strange deities of Africa. To Arabia, to Persia, to Turkey, and even to the distant lands of Malaya and the Indian Archipelago, the story made its way, for Marco Polo found it in the far east when he paid one of his famous visits to the court of the great Khan of Tartary in the thirteenth century. The universality of the romance among all lands and people is attested by the lines of Chaucer who says in the *Canterbury Tales:*

> "The storie of Alisaundre is so comune
> That every wyght that hath discrecioun
> Hath herd somewhat or al of his fortune."

It is natural that the romancer should examine first the birth of Alexander, for a god cannot be conceived by a man of common clay. The Ethiopic version of the story begins with these words:

"There lived in the land of Egypt a king who was called Nectanebus, and he was famous as a magician, and he was a sage, and deeply learned in the wisdom of the Egyptians. And he could cast nativities, and make horoscopes, and he was a great astrologer. He had more knowledge thereof than all the wise men who knew what was in the depth of the Nile, who were great astronomers, who understood the use of the astrolabe, who could cast nativities, and could predict unfailingly the future of men's lives, and declare whether they were born to be rich or poor. He could foretell the future of the unborn child, and his learning made him to be regarded as the king of all the kings of the world.

"He never attempted to fight his enemies on the high seas, but destroyed them by magic, and he did so in the following manner. He took a large brass tank and filled it with water and this represented the sea. He next went into his private chamber and made models of the ships of the enemy in wax, and these he placed on the water in the tank. Then taking in hand an ebony rod he stood up and recited magical spells over the wax ships, and the names of great and all-powerful gods and demons, and immediately the wax ships began to move and they fouled each other and sank to the bottom of the tank. Thereupon the ships of the enemy on the high seas rammed each other and sank, and their crews were drowned."

Now this king of Egypt and the prince of all magicians discovered one day to his horror that his gods had turned against him and were directing a great fleet of hostile vessels toward Egypt. Whereupon he fled from his palace, and finding a ship ready to sail to Macedonia, took passage in it. In the course of time he reached the royal court in Pella, where the fame of his magic came to the ears of Olympias.

The queen at once summoned the magician into her presence, and he told her that he would answer any questions that she might put to him. Thereupon "he withdrew from the fold of his cloak a gold tablet which was intended to represent the face of the heavens. In this were set in their relative positions the seven planets which were the regents of the day and the night. The tablet was inlaid with semi-precious stones and the planets were each represented by a gem of great price. Jupiter was represented by a beryl, the Sun by a crystal, the Moon by an adamant, Mars by a bloodstone, Mercury by an emerald, Venus by a sapphire, and Saturn by a serpentine stone."

Thereupon Olympias asked him the two questions which most concerned her, first, what would Philip say to her when he returned from the war? and, second, would he divorce her and marry another wife? Consulting then the motion of the planets at the time of Philip's birth, Nectanebus confirmed the fears of the queen concerning the intentions of her husband, but he added: "I will make to come to thee gods from beneath the earth. They shall come to thee, and consort with thee, and thou shalt obtain from them that which will gladden thee. And behold, a son shall be born to thee, and he shall avenge thy cause if Philip does thee an injury."

Then by his magic Nectanebus conjured up the image of the god Ammon, who, Olympias believed, became the father of her son, although the wily magician, disguising himself in the form of a snake, took the place of the god and thus became the father of Alexander. Finally, in order to persuade Philip of the divine nature of the birth of Alexander, Nectanebus "promptly took the form and appearance of a huge snake, and glided about through the chambers and corridors and halls of the palace, and as he moved about he hissed in a most terrible manner, and all the officers and servants became stupefied with fear and their amazement turned into horror and they fled from the palace. Having driven every one out of the palace the serpent glided on its way until it reached the chamber which was occupied both by Philip and Olympias. The queen, knowing well who the serpent was stretched out her right hand to him, and the serpent stretched up his head and rested it on her knee, and he kissed her mouth openly and fearlessly before all beholders. Philip looked on speechless with terror, and while he was watching the acts of the serpent one of his eyes became blind."

When Alexander had reached the state of manhood, he moved, according to these chronicles, from one incredible adventure to another. Historical names are woven into these tales, King Darius, King Porus, Aristotle, and others, but the incidents are distorted beyond all recognition. Fancy brings the king to a garden in which there are trees that talk, and one of them, speaking in the Greek language, warns Alexander that he is to die in Babylon. At another time the hero comes to a lofty mountain, whereon there dwelt a god in the form of a dragon "colored like the blackness of a cloud, and a flame of fire proceeding from its mouth." This fearsome beast Alexander conquered by feeding him skins filled with pitch and sulphur, which he ignited by casting red-hot pieces of brass into the dragon's mouth. Into the far reaches of China traveled this heroic deity, and through the country of the Amazons, and the land of darkness, and even into the depths of the sea in a diving bell made of glass.

What could such a god of eastern magic offer to the people of Alexandria, crying for help in their world of peril? Or what could such a figure have in common with the abstract concepts of the philosophers? or with the mysteries written about in the *Timaeus* of Plato? Let us place again upon its pedestal this image of the god Alexander, and consign his future to the poets and the teller of tales by whom he was created.

3. *The Orphic Mysteries.*

Our eye is now attracted by the second statue in the shrine of the Emperor, — a beautiful figure, graceful in outline, gentle of countenance, with a lyre in his hands. From the heroic age of Greece he comes, a mystic image within the shroud of time, for Orpheus is a product of the hills and dales of ancient Thrace. By Pindar he is called "the father of songs," and as the perfecter, or perhaps the inventor, of the lyre, he was regarded by the early Greeks as the chief musician and poet of antiquity. So beautiful were his songs, says legend, that he could charm with them the wild beasts, and stop the rivers in their courses, and draw trees and stones from their places. Or, as Milton has pictured it in *Il Penseroso:*

> "Or bid the soul of Orpheus sing
> Such notes as, warbled to the string,
> Drew iron tears down Pluto's cheek
> And made Hell grant what Love did seek."

Was Orpheus, indeed, a real person who, like Alexander, became the subject of song and story until the mystical god replaced the historic man? Some there are who say that he came from Crete and introduced among the Thracians his doctrine of religious ecstacy so successfully that he was finally torn to pieces by his votaries. Strabo, the historian and geographer, a man of science, makes the following matter-of-fact statement in his *Geography:*[1]

"At the base of Olympus is a city Dium. And it has a village near by, Pimpleia. Here lived Orpheus, the Ciconian, it is said – a wizard who at first collected money from his music, together with his soothsaying and his celebration of orgies connected with the mystic initiatory rites, but soon afterwards thought himself worthy of still greater things and procured for himself a throng of followers. Some, of course, received him willingly, but others, since they suspected a plot and violence, combined against him and killed him."

The great volume of modern opinion, however, sees in Orpheus only a sacred figure, built into the semblance of a man by myths and tales. Associated with the worship of Dionysus, he became one of the most influential gods of the Hellenistic world and was the center of a wide-spread religious ritual.

The story of Orpheus begins with the tradition that he was the son of Oeagrus, King of Thrace, and Calliope, the muse of heroic poetry. Of his youth we have no record except that he was a member of the famous school of Cheiron, the Centaur, where he met and associated with the heroes who studied there. Attaining manhood, Orpheus was invited by Jason to join his band of adventurous spirits, who were assembling at Iolchus in Thessaly in order to embark upon a quest of the golden fleece, which was held by the king of Colchis on the northern shores of the Euxine Sea.

---

[1] vii, 18.

Many were the services which Orpheus did for these heroes, the first being on the occasion of a quarrel, which had broken out among them. Thus says Apollonius of Rhodes in the *Argonautica:*

> "He sang how earth and heaven, and sea, which once all joined together in unity, were separated, each apart, after a deadly quarrel; and how, forever in heaven, the stars, and moon, and the paths of the sea have their steadfast goal; and how the mountains rose up, and how rivers rushing noisily with their nymphs, and all creeping things came into being. . .
>
> "He ended and checked his lyre and voice divine; but they, as he ceased, still bent their heads toward him with eager ears, one and all hushed but hungry still by his enchantment, so strong a spell of music had he left within their hearts."

When also the great ship Argo was ready for the trip, and the heroes found that, despite their greatest efforts, they could not launch her down the beach, then Orpheus took his lyre and sang his magic song. He told about the pleasures of the sea, how joyous it was to ride upon the waves, to visit distant lands, and to return home laden with treasures from far off places. Then the ship Argo could resist no longer the magic of this song, and aided by the heroes, she moved at last into the sea.

Again when the Argonauts drew near to the fatal rock of the Sirens, the heroes would have heard the bewitching voices of these enchantresses and been lured to their destruction had not Orpheus "forthwith strung his lyre in his hands and let a hasty snatch of quick music ring out loudly, that their ears might be deafened as he at the same time swept the twanging chords."[1] And so the heroes avoided this great peril to their journey.

But the most famous of all the adventures of Orpheus, and at the same time the most significant, was his trip to the land of darkness where the shades dwell under the rule of Pluto and Persephone. This trip was brought about by the death of his beloved wife, Eurydice, from the bite of a serpent. So Orpheus, according to the tale, took his lyre and found his way down to the underworld where he sang his songs to Pluto and Persephone. So moved by the magic of his lyre were these dread monarchs, that they finally gave consent that Eurydice should return with her husband. But one condition was imposed, namely, that on the return trip to the earth, the singer was never once to turn his head and look behind him. Alas, poor Orpheus! The temptation to see his wife again became finally too great, and Orpheus turned his head, whereupon the unhappy Eurydice faded slowly from his sight.

---

[1] Apollonius: *The Argonautica,* iv.

According to one tale this adventure finally cost Orpheus his own life, for when, in his grief, he would pay no attention to other women, they in their jealousy of such faithfulness, tore him to pieces and threw his head into the Hebrua river. Thus died Orpheus,

> "Whom universal nature did lament,
> When, by the rout that made the hideous roar,
> His gory visage down the stream was sent,
> Down the swift Hebrua to the Lesbian shore."[1]

These are the elements which make up the life of Orpheus around whose name and mysteries developed one of the most extensive of all the pre-Christian religions. In this story there were two factors which appeared to attract adherents to the worship of Orpheus. The first of these was the use of mystic rites and elaborate ceremonials which captured the imagination of many. The second factor was the teaching of immortality, a doctrine that was associated with the trip of Orpheus to Hades, and foreshadowed undoubtedly, the Christian teaching.

But the weakness of the Orphic ritual resided in the shadowy figure of the god himself, and in the unsatisfactory basis of the assurances of the benefits which would be derived by his adherents. Orpheus was, indeed, an attractive god, but not the one to establish a universal faith around his name and teachings.

---

[1] Milton's *Lycidas*.

4. *Father Abraham.*

Let us return once more to the shrine of the Emperor Alexander and examine another of the images before which he worshiped. This time we hold in our hands a patriarch with coarse, flowing robes, a long beard, and shaggy hair. Here is Father Abraham, and well may we ask why he is thus placed among the gods.

The story of the real Abraham behind the legendary one is more difficult than that of Orpheus, for he lived, perhaps, more than fourteen centuries earlier than the father of song. And through that long stretch of time, which has left us no contemporary monuments to his memory, legend has been busy with his name. Traditionally Abraham is the patriarchal leader, who, through his sons Isaac and Ishmael, became the spiritual ancestor of the Hebrews.

According to the story Abraham was born in the land of Ur in southern Babylonia, and in some of the later traditions the usual portents, which attend the birth of heroic figures, are present. Thus a wonderful star appeared and Nimrod, the king of Babylon, fearing lest the child so heralded should become dangerously great, demanded that his father put him to death. This fate was avoided, however, by the device of the substituted child. At a later time then the family moved to the land of Canaan, a term loosely applied to western Syria and Palestine. Living thus in such close proximity to Egypt, it was natural that Abraham should finally sojourn in this rich land to which, according to the tale, he was driven by famine.

There it was that Abraham met the reigning Pharaoh, who noticed the beauty of his wife Sarai (later changed to Sarah), and added her to his harem, giving the patriarch rich gifts in return. Whereupon "the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues," until the disturbed ruler returned Sarai to Abraham and escorted them and their followers from the land.

The usual miracles are associated with the life of Abraham, as when he entertained three angels, and again when he was prevented "by an angel of the Lord" from sacrificing his son Isaac, just as he held the knife aloft ready to strike the fatal blow.

But Abraham, for all his hoary antiquity, his piety, and the veneration which attached to his name, lacked the necessary attributes of a human god. His teachings were scanty and essentially trivial, his life one that promised little to his votaries, his mysteries unsuited to sacred rituals. It must be admitted that we replace the image of this venerable god upon its pedestal with some slight perplexity as to the reasons for its being there at all.

5. *The Story of Apollonius of Tyana.*

And now we take into our hands the fourth figure, the image of another patriarch, with flowing beard and hair that hangs down upon its shoulders. But the garb is now Grecian, although simple and made of linen, for this god shunned the use of skins and clothing that came from animals. His shoes, we notice, are fashioned from tan bark, since he taught to his disciples a life of rigid asceticism and exemplified his teaching in his personal living. This fourth figure in the chapel of the emperor is the image of Apollonius, the sage of Tyana.

As in the case of Orpheus we may justly speculate whether there ever existed such a man as Apollonius. The story of his life, his divine birth, his miracles, his ascension into heaven, rest upon the authority of one man about whom we know too little, a certain Philostratus, who was born on the island of Lemnos about the year 172 A. D. Thus nearly a century after the death of Apollonius, who died at an extreme old age during the reign of the Emperor Nerva (96-98), we find his biographer putting together the miraculous events which comprise the life of Apollonius.

According to our scanty information, Philostratus studied and taught in Athens, and then proceeded to Rome where he became a member of the circle of scholars who surrounded their patron, the literary and philosophic Empress Julia Domna, wife of Septimus Severus. The empress placed in the hands of Philostratus some memoirs which she had obtained about the life and labors of Apollonius. Under her urging Philostratus undertook to write the biography of this curious character. These memoirs were attributed to a certain Damis, a native of Ninevah, who had been a disciple and companion of Apollonius. They were supplemented by other materials, letters of Apollonius, which had been preserved, and a history of his life while he resided at Aegae, written by a man known to us only as Maximus.

About Philostratus we have learned little else, except that he wrote a work on the *Lives of the Sophists,* another entitled *Gymnasticus,* and a number of letters, many of which are erotic in character. Since he is mentioned by Suidas as having lived during the reign of Emperor Philip, the Arabian, (244-249), his death is assumed to have taken place about 245. His letters are typically Alexandrian in spirit and one of them is almost literally translated by Ben Jonson in his *Song to Celia,* which opens with the famous lines:

> "Drink to me only with thine eyes,
> And I will pledge with mine;
> Or leave a kiss but in the cup
> And I'll not look for wine."

The life of Apollonius begins with an account of the origin of his philosophy in that of Pythagoras, and for this reason he has been identified with the Neo-pythagorean movement. Apollonius was born in Tyana, which, says Strabo[1] "lies below the Taurus at the Cilician Gates, where for all is the easiest and most commonly used pass into Cilicia and Syria. It is called 'Eusebeia near the Taurus'; and its territory is for the most part fertile and level. Tyana is situated upon a mound of Semiramis, which is beautifully fortified."

The birth of Apollonius, like that of other spiritual leaders, was attended by miracles, for so we read:

"To his mother, just before he was born, there came an apparition of Proteus, who changes his form so much in Homer, in the guise of an Egyptian demon. She was in no way frightened, but asked him what sort of a child she would bear. And he answered: 'Myself.' 'And who are you?' she asked. 'Proteus,' he replied, 'the god of Egypt'...

"Now he is said to have been born in a meadow, hard by which there has now been erected a sumptuous temple to him; and let us not pass by the manner of his birth. For just as the hour of his birth was approaching, his mother was warned in a dream to walk out into the meadow and pluck flowers; and in due course she came there and her maids attended to the flowers, scattering themselves over the meadow, while she fell asleep lying on the grass. Thereupon the swans who fed in the meadow set up a dance around her as she slept, and lifting their wings, as they are wont to do, cried aloud all at once, for there was somewhat of a breeze blowing in the meadow. She then leaped up at the sound of their song and bore her child, for any sudden fright is apt to bring on a premature delivery. But the people of the country say that just at the moment of the birth, a thunderbolt seemed to fall to earth and then rose up into the air and disappeared aloft; and the gods thereby indicated, I think, the great distinction which the sage was to attain, and hinted in advance how he should transcend all things upon earth and approach the gods, and signified all the things that he would achieve."

---

[1] xii, 2, 7.

The life of Apollonius is almost a continuous journey over the face of the earth. After receiving an education at Tarsus and Aegae, he visited Antioch, Babylon, and Ninevah, where he met his biographer Damis. The call of the east came to him there and he proceeded thence to India, where, crossing the Indian Caucusus, he finally reached the great plain of the Ganges. There he discussed the nature of the World Soul with the Brahmans.

After spending several months in India, Apollonius returned by sea to the mouth of the Euphrates river and thence to Babylon following much the same course as that traveled more than three centuries before by Nearchus, commander of the fleet of Alexander the Great. From Babylon the sage went to Ionia, where he delivered the parable of the sparrows. This is an interesting incident to us since it shows the ancient origin of ideas that have developed into dramatic events in our own time. Thus we read:[1]

"His other discourses he delivered under the trees which grow hard by the cloisters; and in these he sometimes dealt with the question of communism, and taught that they ought to support and be supported by one another. While he was doing so on one occasion, sparrows were sitting quite silent upon the trees, but one of them suddenly gave a chirp as it flew up, just as if he had some instructions to give to his fellows; and the latter, on hearing it, themselves set up a chirping and rose and flew off under the guidance of the one. Now Apollonius went on with his argument, for he knew what it was that made the sparrows take wing, but he did not explain the matter to the multitude who were listening to him; but when they all looked up at the birds and some of them in their folly thought that it was a miracle, Apollonius interrupted his argument and said: 'A boy has slipped who was carrying some barley in a bowl, and after carelessly gathering together what was fallen, he has gone off, leaving much of it scattered about in yonder alley, and this sparrow, witnessing the occurrence, has come here to acquaint his fellows with this good luck, and to invite them to come and eat it with him.

---

[1] iv, 3.

"Most of his audience accordingly ran off to the spot, but Apollonius, to those who remained with him, continued the discourse he had proposed to himself on the topic of communism; and when the others had returned, talking loudly and full of wonder, he continued thus: 'You see how the sparrows care for one another and delight in communism; but we are far from approving of it, nay, should we happen to see anyone sharing his own in common with others, we set him down as a spendthrift and talk about his extravagance and so forth, while as for those who are supported by him, we call them parasites and flatterers. What then is left for us to do, except to shut ourselves up like birds that are being fed up and fattened, and gorge ourselves in the dark until we literally burst with fat?' "

After visiting a number of the Grecian cities and preaching his doctrines, Apollonius decided to go to Rome. This was in the time of the dreaded Nero, who hated philosophers saying that they were wizards, and most of the followers of the sage were afraid to accompany him. But Apollonius apparently walked the streets of Rome fearlessly. Although some thoughts were entertained to detain him, the dread of his wizardry prevented decisive action from being taken against his person.

From Rome Apollonius passed on to Spain, thence to Syracuse in Sicily, and finally back again to Greece. After a winter spent in various Hellenic temples, the urge to travel came again and the sage embarked for Egypt by way of the island of Rhodes. Arriving in Alexandria, Apollonius was greeted enthusiastically by the people, for his reputation had preceded him there. "It is no exaggeration to say," reports his biographer, "that as he advanced from the ship to the city, they gazed upon him as if he were a god, and made way for him in the narrow passages, as they would for priests carrying the sacraments."

In order to show his power of divination, Apollonius stopped a procession of twelve criminals, who were being led to their execution, and calling one of them by name said that the man so designated was not guilty. The truth of this was soon made evident, for just as the execution was proceeding a messenger suddenly arrived shouting: "Spare Pharion! He is no robber, but he gave false evidence against himself from fear of being racked, and others of them in their examination under torture have acknowledged that he is guiltless." This seemingly miraculous power, as one can well believe, greatly thrilled the superstitious Egyptians.

An interesting light is cast upon the pastimes of the Alexandrians of his day by his rebuke of the evils of horse-racing. It will be recalled from an earlier chapter that one of the interesting sights just outside the walls of Alexandria was the great Hippodrome, which must have played an important part in the lives of many of the citizens. The reader, if he is alert, may find in the life of certain American cities some counterpart to the evils mentioned in the following excerpt from the biography:

> "But because the Alexandrians are devoted to horses, and flock into the race-course to see the spectacle, and murder one another in their partisanship, he therefore administered a grave rebuke to them over these matters, and entering the temple he asked: 'How long will you persist in meeting your deaths, not in behalf of your families or of your shrines, but because you are determined to pollute the sacred precincts by entering them reeking with gore and to slaughter one another within the walls?"

While Apollonius sojourned in Alexandria, Vespasian, the Roman general, entered the city, at the moment when he was meditating the seizure of the imperial crown. According to the biography, the idea of wearing the purple had occurred to Vespasian while he was attacking Jerusalem, and he had sent word to Apollonius to come to him to discuss the matter. But when Apollonius refused, Vespasian then went to Alexandria himself to consult the prophet. Although some of the sage's followers urged Vespasian to reestablish the Roman republic, Apollonius pointed out the hopelessness of changing a system that had been in operation for a century, and foretold that Vespasian would wear the imperial crown.

From Alexandria Apollonius went to upper Egypt and then to Ethiopia, where he remained for some time teaching and studying the habits and religious ideas of the natives. Upon returning from these

African adventures, he entered into correspondence with the Emperor Titus and visited with him in Tarsus, foretelling some of the events of his life. His further travels were not so extensive now as in his earlier years "for when he came down from Ethiopia he made a long stay on the sea-board of Egypt, and then he returned to Phoenicia and Cilicia, and to Ionia and Achaea and Italy, never failing anywhere to show himself the same as ever."

While he was in Italy he fell under the displeasure of the Emperor Domitian, and, together with some of his followers, he was thrown into prison. This incarceration he endured with great equanimity, however, and when Damis asked him about his lack of fear he replied: "'I shall be set at liberty this day, but so far as depends upon my own will, it can be now and here.' And with these words he took his leg out of the fetters and remarked to Damis: 'Here is positive proof to you of my freedom, so cheer up.' Damis says that it was then for the first time that he really and truly understood the nature of Apollonius, namely, that it was divine and superhuman."

Finally the old prophet died, "if he did actually die," says the biographer, at a very advanced age during the reign of Emperor Nerva probably. The accounts of his death are not consistent. One of the stories says that he passed away in Crete in the temple of Dictynne, which he entered late one night.

"Now this temple is guarded by dogs, whose duty it is to watch over the wealth deposited in it, and the Cretans claim that they are as good as bears or any other animals equally fierce. None the less, when he came, instead of barking they approached him and fawned upon him, as they would not have done even with people they knew familiarly. The guardians of the shrine arrested him in consequence, and threw him in bonds as a wizard and a robber, accusing him of having thrown to the dogs some charmed morsel. But about midnight he loosened his bonds, and after calling those who had bound him, in order that they might witness the spectacle, he ran to the doors of the temple, which opened wide to receive him; and when he had passed within they closed again, as if they had been shut, and there was heard a chorus of maidens singing from within the temple, and their song was this: 'Hasten thou from earth, hasten thou to Heaven! Hasten!' In other words the burden of their song was: 'Go thou upward from the earth!'"

The story of Apollonius is full of miracles, prophecies, and acts of magic, although his biographer strongly defends him against accusations of being a wizard. In Rome he brought to life a girl who had died just at the hour of her marriage. He healed the leg of a youth who had been injured by a lion, and he restored sight to a man who was blind. His teaching was that of the stoics; he preached the doctrine of immortality; his personal life was idealistic, and possessed an unquestionable touch of majesty. One of his most interesting innovations was his strong objection to the use of sacrifice in worship, an objection that also became part of the teaching of the Christians.

The deification of Apollonius apparently came soon after the appearance of the biography of Philostratus, which cannot have been earlier than 217. That a considerable following had been attracted to him is evident from the fact that his statue is found in the chapel of the Emperor Alexander. During the latter part of the third century Hierocles, who was proconsul of Bethynia and Alexandria under the Emperor Diocletian, produced a work in which he compared the miracles of Apollonius with those recorded in the life of Christ. This book violently incensed the Christians and Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260 – c. 340), the ecclesiastical historian, wrote an extensive refutation in which he even denied a place to Apollonius among the philosophers.

6. *The Power of the Fifth Deity.*

We come now finally to the last image in the shrine of the emperor. Let us lift it down reverently from its pedestal for we now hold in our hands the symbol of what pagan and saint alike have recognized as one of the greatest forces in human history. Here is the image of the One about which were to rally the great masses of the common people. Here is the One who was destined to sweep emperors from their thrones, who was to engender the spiritual frenzy of vast crusades, and by the magic of his life and deeds, was to raise such a tide in the affairs of man that the current still runs deep and strong these twenty centuries after He taught and preached his message. Into the story of the golden city He enters like a great blast of wind and the pagan world, the world of the old traditions of Greece, the world of the Ptolemies, with their royal palaces and their magnificent Museum, shakes to its very roots before the new forces that have been unleashed.

The last traces of the other gods have disappeared. Their voices now are but as murmurs of a distant sea. Their figures are but faintly seen through the veil of time. The poet, perhaps, may remind us occasionally of the romantic story of Alexander, and the music of Orpheus falls upon our ears no louder than the music of the spheres. Only an occasional pagan like Voltaire will remind us that there was a challenge in the life of Apollonius.

How then does it come about that the figure of Christ still walks in the modern world, when the footsteps of the others have disappeared? What is the magic of this mystical figure? For the life of Christ is full of miracles. The story of his birth, his healing of the sick, his raising of the dead, and his final resurrection find counterparts in the lives of the other figures which we have studied.

Not wholly in these magical powers, then, do we find his strength, but in another place. Can one doubt what it was that led his disciples to their final victory over the pagan dieties and the lofty, but impersonal, teachings of the Neoplatonists? Read again the *Sermon on the Mount* and you will see how the imagination of the common man was challenged by his words. "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth." In these words, and their amplification, you have the secret of the early Christian church, and the source of the power of its God over the deities of the pagan pantheon. In the severity of life during the mournful centuries of the Roman rule, in the travail and suffering during countless wars, in the bitterness of famine, earthquakes, pestilence, and attendant evils, the common man found comfort in the teachings of the fifth deity in the shrine of the emperor. Where the others could offer him only magic, or an abstract philosophy incomprehensible even to the teachers themselves, the poor, and the sad, and the meek, of whom there were plenty in Alexandria, could find solace from their troubles. This it is necessary to understand if one is to understand the last centuries of the golden city.

7. *The Development of the Christian Church.*

The history of the early Christian church is closely identified with the story of Alexandria. Every change in its fortunes was reflected in the life of the golden city. The vast and relentless struggle of the church against the pagan tradition is more clearly seen against the background of the shrines and temples of Alexandria than in any other part of the Roman empire. Some of the details of this struggle will be given in the ensuing pages of our chronicle.

According to the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius the first church to be established in Alexandria was founded by no less a person than Saint Mark. We are further informed that in the eighth year of the reign of Emperor Nero, that is to say, in 61 A. D., Mark turned over the administration of the parish to Annianus, who was ordained by him as the first bishop of the Alexandrian church.

According to Philo there also dwelt about this time a colony of ascetics upon a low hill near Lake Mareotis. These early worshipers (Philo does not call them Christians) apparently had a number of churches near or in their homes, which Philo describes as follows: [1]

> "In each house there is a sacred apartment which is called a sanctuary and monastery, where, quite alone, they perform the mysteries of the religious life. They bring nothing into it, neither drink nor food, nor any of the other things which contribute to the necessities of the body, but only the laws, and the inspired oracles of the prophets, and hymns and such other things as augment and make perfect their knowledge and piety."

The first significant figure in the development of the church in Alexandria was that of Clement, called the Greek father of the church, who was born about 150 A. D. Little is known about his life. He appears to have wandered considerably in his earlier years, but he came finally under the influence of Pantaenus, then head of the Catechetical School in Alexandria. He soon associated himself with the church and for more than twenty years taught in the golden city, succeeding Pantaenus as the head of the school. In 202 he left Alexandria, when the persecutions of Emperor Septimius Severus broke out, and is lost from sight thereafter except for one reference to him as the bearer of a letter to the church at Antioch.

---

[1] *De Vita Contemplativa,* Sect. 3.

Clement was remarkable for his wide knowledge of classical literature and for his information concerning the religious customs of his day. His place in history is derived from his unrelenting and savage attacks upon the pagan gods and the rituals practiced in their worship.

The second significant figure in the struggle between Christian and pagan forms was Origen, the most distinguished and influential of all the fathers of the ancient church, with the possible exception of Saint Augustine (354-430). He is called the father of dogma and the founder of the theology of the church.

Origen was born, probably in Alexandria, of Christian parents in 185 or 186, and as a student listened to the lectures of Pantaenus and Clement. At this time there was still free speculation about the origin of the Christian faith and its relationship to the Greek philosophies. In the bitter war with paganism, which was on the eve of its beginning, this tolerance was soon to be abandoned by the establishment of lines defining heathenism and heresy.

We often marvel at the fanatical zeal of the early Christians, but this zeal was derived not so much from an inner love of truth, as from an abhorrence of the harsh, external facts with which they had to contend. Origen, himself, became a victim of these bitter deeds, for during the persecutions of Emperor Septimius Severus (193-211), his father Leonidas was beheaded for his beliefs. Can one wonder at the powerful reaction of a young man to this brutal fact? When his father was arrested, Origen himself attempted to combat the evil forces and was preserved from rushing to his destruction only by the device employed by his mother of hiding his clothes.

When Clement was finally driven away from Alexandria and relinquished his position as director of the Catechetical School, Origen, then only eighteen years of age, reopened the school and taught those who dared to come to him. During this period he lived in extreme poverty and privation. He himself adopted a very ascetic form of life and was able to satisfy his wants by copying manuscripts at the rate of four obels per day.[1]

---

[1] This was equivalent in buying power to about 10 pounds of wheat.

Origen labored at teaching and writing for twenty-eight years in Alexandria, although he is known to have taken numerous journeys during this period. Thus he probably saved his life by being in Palestine in 216 when new persecutions broke out against the Christians. During this period the reputation of Origen grew and with it came the attendant jealousies. Bishop Demetrius of Alexandria, who had spitefully kept Origen from ordination in the church, began to move against him and secured an order of banishment on the wretched charge that Origen had been ordained a presbyter illegally by the Palestine bishops. This was followed by another persecution in which Origen was reduced to the position of a layman, although no formal excommunication was directed against him. The tom-toms of heresy were sounded throughout the church and Origen, whose purity of spirit and loftiness of character made such charges an empty mockery, was humiliated as far as the malice of Demetrius could prevail.

Under this bitter persecution Origen voluntarily withdrew from Alexandria in 232, and went to Palestine where he was received with the acclaim that his character and writings deserved. In the city of Caesarea he opened another school, which soon attained a reputation superior to the one in Alexandria. Origen lived peacefully until 250 when he was caught in the toils of the persecution of Emperor Decius. According to Eusebius, he suffered "bonds and bodily tortures and torments under the iron collar and in the dungeon." But these evils he apparently survived since his death did not occur until 254.

Origen is important for our history, since his writings formed the rock against which beat the waves of controversy during the next century and a half. Around his interpretation of the Christian miracle a great struggle raged which was finally to establish the dogma of the church and present it with its sharpest weapons against the religious forms of the old pagan tradition. Some aspects of this epic struggle, the most dramatic incidents of which were associated with the life of the golden city, we shall survey in ensuing chapters.

CHAPTER 14

THE STORY OF ATHANASIUS

1. *The Exile in the Desert*

TOWARD EVENING ON A DAY IN early December of the year 361 the setting sun threw its last rays into an open door of a rude dwelling, half hut, half cave, built on the side of a hill overlooking one of the lakes of the Nitria Valley (Wadi Natron). Although this depression lies less than 100 miles south and a little east of Alexandria it is separated from the golden city by an extensive desert which forms an effective buffer for those who wish to dwell near and yet apart from other men. Within the doorway, and making use of the fading light of day, there sat an old man writing more busily than the calm and isolation of his position seemed to warrant. Although the marks of time were upon his face, he had the piercing eye and the imperious mien of one who had taken and given blows. For you now look upon the face of Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, one of the most remarkable men produced by that prolific city. As you become better acquainted with his life and labors you may not like him, but his magnanimous character and his enthusiastic devotion to the cause for which he struggled must surely win your admiration.

We see him now at a low ebb in his fortunes. Here in the wilderness, a fugitive from the powerful vengeance of the Roman emperor, he has made his home among the hermits of the desert. About him are other dwellings with their patches of garden and their rude symbols of lives spent on the verge of existence, lives devoted to an ascetic and solitary contemplation of the world and of the spirit. For Alexandria, among its many gifts both good and evil, had also developed the monastic life which was to play so profound a part in the world of the Middle Ages.

The writer, his eyes tired in the waning light, arose and stepped out of the hut. Looking across the sands, his sight was arrested by a dark object on the rim of the desert. In a short time the object was discernible as a camel whose rider, to judge from the speed, was in a great hurry. Others in the valley had also caught sight of the cameleer, and since he came from the direction of Alexandria, the source of news, they began slowly to converge upon the dwelling of the bishop. For in spite of his present isolation, the patriarch was even yet a man of great influence in the distant world. Within his slender hands he still held the reins of an invisible power that stretched not only to the golden city, but far beyond, over the blue sea, to Rome, Antioch, and Constantinople.

Judging from the speed of the rider, there was news of moment and the desert hermits, who still possessed a lively interest in the outer world, despite their retirement from its trials and troubles, began to gather toward the probable focus of the messenger.

"God be with you!" greeted the rider as his camel stopped before the door of the dwelling of Athanasius. "I come with good tidings, father, for your foe, the Emperor, is dead these thirty days. A ship reached Alexandria three nights ago with the news, and the proclamation of the prefect has been read in the forum."

"May God have mercy on his soul," said the bishop simply.

But there was excitement enough among the desert monks, for Emperor Constantius had been one of the most bitter and implacable enemies of the distinguished guest, who had lived so long in their midst. Driven from his church on a memorable night six years before, when the soldiers of the emperor had burst in upon the devotions of his congregation, Athanasius had been an exile in the desert among them. First, in the upper reaches of the river, he had lived with those who dwelt in the tombs of the kings; then later, as the pursuit became less savage and the ardor of the prefect less heated, in this quiet valley among the dunes of Nitria.

"Who now succeeds him?" clamored the monks, their eyes burning with excitement.

"Alas! as you may guess, it is Julian, the Apostate," said the messenger.

At this there was a groan from the assembly, and muttered imprecations were heard among them. For now there loomed again the same bitter struggle which had been fought with varying fortunes during the last three centuries against the pagan world and its pagan gods. For Julian bore, and with good right, a deep and bitter hatred against the Christian church. Had not the sons of Constantine, upholders of the faith, cloaking their villainies under the symbol of the church, destroyed his father and his uncle and all his kinsmen in a savage and inhuman massacre when he was but a child? Were not the names of Constantine, the emperor, and Christ, his god, linked in a union that neither study of the holy word, nor the pious precepts of his teachers, could ever erase from his memory? Julian, wise and beneficent ruler though he was in his brief reign, had reasons rooted in childhood for preferring the ritual and the wisdom of the older paganism, which in its most savage moods executed deeds scarcely more violent than those of the newer faith.

But Athanasius raised his hand and quieted the mutterings of the hermits. "Let us hear the details," he said, "for maybe in the pagan breast of Julian there lives a warmer heart than that of Constantius. His treacheries, at least, will not bear the stamp of the hypocrite."

"The letter," said the messenger, "brought other details. Julian it seems, while still in Gaul, had been forced against his will to wear the purple, as doubtless you already know. When he heard that Constantius had rejected his friendship and was making plans against him, the new emperor of the west was then engaged in warfare with the Germans deep in the Black Forest. With three thousand of his most trusted troops, he set out at once for Constantinople, over mountain paths, across mighty rivers, through trackless forests until he reached the Danube River. There he captured by surprise a fleet of boats, and in eleven days he stood at the gates of Sirmium, a voyage down those wild waters of seven hundred miles. Constantius, shocked by the news which he had received, started out in the winter weather from Antioch. But in a little village, just beyond the Tarsus, the emperor contracted a fever. In a few days he died and Julian has been acclaimed as his successor."

"Strange are the ways of God," said Athanasius, "but stranger still are the evil ways of man. Tell us, how did Alexandria stand the shock?"

A smile lighted up the face of the messenger at this question and his eyes flashed.

"I have saved the best news until the last," he said. "But for the events in Alexandria I should have been here hours sooner. It would have done your heart good to hear the tumult that then broke loose, – the wild cries of the mob for vengeance on your successor, the Bishop George, who held this place only through the influence of the emperor. If ever there was true spawn of the devil that bishop is the man. May his soul burn in hell for his evil ways."

There was a murmur of approval from the hermits, mingled with fierce oaths, but Athanasius raised his hand in protest at this strong language.

"May God pardon me," said the messenger, "but my father was one of those forty men, beaten by rods cut fresh from the palm tree with their cruel thorns, about which you have told in your recent tract. I am afraid, holy father, that saints and devils alike joined in the mob, for the death of the emperor is the doom of his evil servant. We dragged him and his two ministers, Diodorus, the nobleman, and Dracontius, the master of the mint, from their houses. In chains we marched them through the streets, and unless they were rescued by the prefect, they are now lying in the public prison."

"God's will be done," said Athanasius.

This strange scene in the desert marked the beginning of new and better days for the exiled bishop. Although troubles still beset his pathway and dangers lurked in the shadows, the death of Constantius was the turning-point in the stormy career of Athanasius; his final vindication was now close at hand.

2. *The End of Bishop George.*

When Emperor Julian finally held the reins of the government firmly in his grasp his first task was to placate the waring political factions of his great domain. At the moment the most violent center of disturbance was Alexandria. For the incarceration of Bishop George, the usurper of the throne of Athanasius, was not sufficient to placate the citizens who had suffered so bitterly from his persecutions. Although this evil bishop had treated the Christian followers of Athanasius with great cruelty, it was the pagan element which most bitterly hated him. For Bishop George, with a peculiar adeptness in the art of persecution, had violated the mysteries of the pagan faith. Under instructions to convert a temple called the *Mithrium*, that is to say, the shrine of the Persian diety Mithra, into a Christian church, he had penetrated into the holy of holies, the *adytum*, and allowed his followers to exhibit the sacred relics contained therein to the people. As we shall see later in our history, this violation of the mysteries was the most certain way to arouse the fanatical fury of the believers. So violent was the reaction, and so great was the tumult, that Bishop George was finally forced to desist from his attempts to build the new church. But the bitter hatred of the pagans toward the bishop smoldered ominously.

Thus, when the protection of the loathsome bishop had finally been removed by the death of Constantius, the fury of the pagans awakened; their moment of revenge was at hand. Although Bishop George was now firmly incarcerated in the city prison, he still lived. This situation was intolerable. The murmurs grew, and the feelings of the people were fanned into flame. At last on the twenty-fourth day of December (361) the mob assembled and burst in the gates of the prison. The terrified bishop and his companions were dragged into the streets and murdered, doubtless with all the cruelty that the fury of the moment could devise. The mutilated bodies were paraded through the streets on the back of a camel, and were finally torn to pieces and cast into the sea. Thus, overtaken at last by what appears to have been a just fate, the infamous bishop met his doom.

History is not too clear about an interesting point associated with this prelate of unsavory memory. Bishop George, known as a Cappadocian, was born in Cilicia and had pursued something of a romantic career before he finally reached the throne of the bishop of Alexandria. Beginning life as the son of a humble fuller, he had risen step by step, through every device that came to his unscrupulous hands, from poverty to a position of great wealth. At one time he was an army contractor and at another a receiver of taxes. From the evidence which we have of his character, there is little doubt that these positions were sources of exceptional profit to him. But the most curious point about the life of this unscrupulous man is the attempt which has been made to identify him with Saint George, the patron saint of England, Aragon, and Portugal. This strange theory was advanced by Edward Reynolds (1599-1676), bishop of Norwich, and was accepted a century later by that careful scholar, Edward Gibbon. Since Saint George attained his great celebrity during the crusades, centuries after the events which we have narrated, although he had been worshipped in Palestine, Armenia, Rome, and France as early as the sixth century, one may have proper scepticism about the connection between the patron saint and the evil bishop. However, the original Saint George, according to legend, was a Cappadocian and he became one of the early martyrs of the Christian church. Is it not one of those sardonic tricks of history to find even the suggestion that the noble and virtuous hero of Christian faith, the patron of honor, of arms, and of the Garter, should have legendary association with the name of one who was detested not only by the pagan mobs, but by his Christian associates as well?

The Emperor Julian protested the murder of Bishop George in a famous letter which has been preserved for us. Since it not only throws light upon the character of Julian, but also upon the interesting situation in Alexandria, its quotation is a matter of concern to our history. Thus wrote the emperor:

> "Even if you have neither respect for Alexander, the founder of your city, nor, what is more, for the great and most holy god Serapis, yet how is it you have made no account not only of the universal claims of humanity and social order, but also of what is due to us, to whom all the gods, and especially the mighty Serapis, have assigned the empire of the world, for whose cognizance, therefore, it became you to reserve all matters of public wrong? But perhaps the impulse of rage and indignation, which, taking possession of the mind, too often stimulates it to the most atrocious acts, has led you astray. It seems, however, that when your fury had in some degree moderated, you aggravated your culpability by adding a most heinous offense to that which had been committed under the excitement of the moment; nor were you, although but the common people, ashamed to perpetrate those very acts on account of which you justly detested them.
>
> "By Seraphis I conjure you to tell me, for what unjust deed were you so indignant at George? You will perhaps answer that it was because he exasperated Constantius of blessed memory against you; that he introduced an army into the sacred city; that in consequence the governor of Egypt[1] despoiled the god's most holy temple of its

---

[1] This was Artemius, later beheaded by Julian for his acts of desecration.

images, votive offerings, and such other consecrated apparatus as it contained; who dared to send armed bands against you, when you could not endure the sight of such a foul desecration, but attempted to defend the god from sacrilegious hands, or rather to hinder the pillage of what had been consecrated to his service, in contravention of all justice, law, and pity. This he probably did from his dreading George more than Constantius; but he would have consulted better for his own safety had he not been guilty of his tyrannical conduct, but persevered in his former moderation toward you.

"Being on all these accounts enraged against George as the adversary of the gods, you have again polluted your sacred city; whereas you should have impeached him before the judges. For had you thus acted, neither murder, nor any other unlawful deed would have been committed; but justice, being equally dispensed, would have preserved you innocent of these disgraceful excesses, while it brought on him the punishment due to his impious crimes. Thus too, in short, the insolence of those would have been curbed who condemn the gods, and respect neither cities of such magnitude, nor so flourishing a population; but make the cruelties they practice against them the prelude, as it were, of their exercise of power.

"Therefore, compare this my present letter with that which I wrote you some time ago. With what high commendation did I then greet you! But now, by the immortal gods, with an equal disposition to praise you, I am unable to do so because of your heinous misdeeds. The people have had the audacity to tear a man in pieces, like dogs; nor have they been ashamed subsequently of this inhuman procedure, nor desirous of purifying their hands from such polution, that they may stretch them forth in the presence of the gods undefiled by blood.

"You will no doubt be ready to say that George justly merited his fate; and we might be disposed perhaps to admit that he deserved still more acute tortures. Should you further affirm that on your account he was worthy of these sufferings, even this might be granted. But should you add that it became you to inflict the vengeance due to his offenses, that I could by no means agree to; for you have laws to which it is the duty of every one of you to be subject, and to evince your respect for both publically, as well as in private. If any individual should transgress those wise and salutary regulations which were originally constituted for the well-being of the community, does that absolve the rest from obedience to them?

"It is fortunate for you, Alexandrians, that such an atrocity has been perpetrated in our reign, who, by reason of our reverence for the gods, and on account of our grandfather and uncle whose name we bear, and who governed Egypt and your city, still retain a fraternal affection for you. Assuredly that power which will not suffer itself to be disrespected, and such a government as is possessed of a vigorous and healthy constitution, could not connive at such unbridled licentiousness in its subjects, without unsparing purging of the dangerous distemper by the application of remedies sufficiently potent.

"We shall, however, in your case, for the reasons already assigned, restrict ourselves to the more mild and gentle medicine of remonstrance and exhortation; to which mode of treatment we are persuaded you will more readily submit, inasmuch as we understand you are Greeks by original descent, and also preserve in your memory and character the traces of the glory of your ancestors. Let this be published to our citizens of Alexandria."

This conciliatory and well-tempered letter was followed soon afterwards by an edict in which the bishops exiled by Constantius were restored to their sees. This edict was published in Alexandria on February 9, 362, and twelve days later Athanasius reappeared in the golden city. Let us leave him there, seated once more upon the precarious throne of his turbulent court, while we recall the chain of events which led to his exile and persecution.

3. *The Youth and Training of Athanasius.*

Athanasius, according to the meager accounts which we have, was born in Alexandria somewhere around 296 in the reign of the Emperor Diocletian. His parents belonged to the upper class in the city and their son enjoyed the advantages of a liberal education. He was well-trained in the Greek tradition, as one may judge from his frequent references to Plato, Aristotle, Homer, and other heroes of the older classical school. He was also familiar with the teaching of the Neoplatonists, whose influence is easily visible in the following passage of his discourse *Against the Heathen:*[1]

"But by Logos I mean, not that which is involved and inherent in all things created, which some are wont to call the seminal principle, which is without soul and has no power of reason or thought, but only works by external art, according to the skill of him that applies it, — nor such a Logos as belongs to rational beings and which consists of syllables, and has the air as its vehicle of expression, — but I mean the living and powerful Logos of the good God, the God of the Universe, the very Logos which is God, Who, while different from things that are made, and from all Creation, is the One own Logos of the good Father, Who by His own providence ordered and illumines this Universe."

---

[1] Paragraph 40.

Since Alexandria during his boyhood was still seething from the savage persecution of the Christians under the edicts of Diocletian, Athanasius must have experienced a tremendous reaction to these direful events. He was probably already a student in the famous Alexandrian church school with its traditions inherited from Clement, Origen, and other noted teachers. Perhaps he even received instruction from Bishop Peter himself, when that important leader met violent death in the year 311, an event which must have exerted a profound effect upon Athanasius. Concerning this execution we have the following account by Eusebius in his *Church History:*[1]

"But we were obliged again to endure exile and severe persecutions, and the governors in every province were once more terribly stirred up against us; so that even some of those illustrious in the Divine Word were seized and had sentence of death pronounced upon them without mercy. Three of them in the city of Emesa in Phoenicia, having confessed that they were Christians, were thrown as food to the wild beasts... At about the same time Peter also, who presided most illustriously over the parishes in Alexandria, a divine example of a bishop on account of the excellence of his life and his study of the sacred Scriptures, being seized for no cause and quite unexpectedly, was, as if by the command of Maximus, immediately and without explanation beheaded. With him also many other bishops of Egypt suffered the same fate."

We dwell upon these unpleasant matters, since they form a necessary background to the life of Athanasius. They illustrate the dangers which beset him in later life, for with the grisly head of the martyred bishop before him, Athanasius needed more than usual courage to defy the wrath of the dangerous, temperamental emperors whom he served. Precarious, indeed, was the throne of the Alexandrian bishop in those stormy days.

---

[1] ix, 6.

The first great opportunity of his life came to Athanasius as the result of a curious incident, if we can trust the story, which at least makes a pretty fable. It seems that Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, was planning to hold a dinner party following services held in honor of the martyred Bishop Peter. While waiting for his guests to assemble, Alexander stood by a window of his house and observed some boys at play. The nature of their game was very curious, for they appeared to be performing the baptismal services of the church under the direction of a youth who officiated as bishop. Both intrigued by this play and yet annoyed at its simulation of the sacred rites, Alexander sent some of his clergy to bring the boys into the house.

They were naturally frightened at this interruption of their game, but when they were questioned kindly, they finally confessed its nature. Alexander was greatly impressed by their faithful adherence to the details of the sacred ceremony, and after consulting with his clergy he decided that the baptisms should be regarded as genuine. The presiding boy-bishop, who was Athanasius, was taken under the guidance of Alexander, and the parents of the other boys were instructed that their sons should be educated for positions in the church.

Whether this story is apocryphal or not, the fact remains that Athanasius became a member of the bishop's household and when Alexander died in 328, the boy-bishop of earlier years was chosen as his successor. From Alexander he had acquired his theology and a knowledge of the writings of earlier teachers, especially the works of Origen.

4. *Beginnings of the Arian Controversy.*

Athanasius came into power at the moment when the Christian world was rocked by an event that had far-reaching consequences. In fact, one may truthfully aver, that the waves set up by that vast cataclysm in the theological ocean, have not yet wholly subsided, although the disturbance itself took place more than sixteen centuries ago. This momentous event was what has come to be called *the Arian controversy.*

The author of the disturbance was a man named Arius, a Libyian by birth, who was connected with the church in Alexandria. He was a man doomed by fate to spend a life of controversy. His first trouble arose out of the acts of Meletius of Lycopolis, founder of a sect known as the *Meletians,* or the *Church of the Martyrs,* in the district around Thebes. This stalwart leader of the faithful had been thrown into prison along with Bishop Peter of Alexandria during the persecutions of Diocletian. After he had regained his freedom he refused to baptize into the church those Christians who had renounced their faith to save themselves from death and torture. This harsh attitude toward the penitent aroused the wrath of Bishop Peter.

Arius at first supported the position of Meletius, but later changed his opinion and was ordained a deacon in the Alexandrian church by Peter. But when the bishop became more violent in his attack upon the Meletian leader and refused to accept his baptisms, Arius could no longer control his feelings. As a result he was excommunicated. But upon the death of Peter in 311, he was again accepted into the church by Achillas, the new bishop, elevated to the presbytery, and given charge of Baucalis, one of the large churches in the city. A man skilled in oratory, he soon attracted a considerable following and was apparently well liked at first by Bishop Alexander, who succeeded Achillas. Arius, however, appears to have had some hopes that he might have succeeded to the bishopric instead of Alexander, and it is possible that the break between the two men started with the thwarting of this ambition.

The Arian controversy began over a difference in church dogma. In a very real sense its roots went back into the older Neoplatonic ideas about the nature of the Logos. For Arius, who had been a pupil of Lucian of Antioch, a man learned both in philosophy and Christian scholarship, undertook to interpret the relationship between God, his Logos, or power, and Christ, the human form of the deity. Following the lead of Lucian, Arius taught that Christ was imbued with the divine Logos, created as a special essence of God, and was thus not strictly identifiable with Him. Thus Christ was more than a perfect man, for his human form was guided and directed by this divine quantity which superseded intellectual and spiritual powers possessed by ordinary mortals. On the other hand, Christ was not a perfect God, for he had assumed mortal form and this was not a possible attribute of the One God, eternal, uncreated, and everlasting. On the logical reason that the word Son predicates an act of procreation, Arius argued that Christ has a beginning in time, and hence, once, before his creation, had no existence. He was thus not of the eternal nature of the God of the Universe, who needed to create another vehicle for his contact with the world itself.

This interesting theology of Lucian, as interpreted and expounded by Arius, immediately gained a number of adherents. The exposition is preserved in letters and in extracts from a poem called *Thalia*, which we know principally from the excerpts quoted with bitter invective by Athanasius.

The controversy finally broke forth in full fury in 319 when Bishop Alexander, calling a synod, deposed Arius. The injured presbyter and his friends, believing that the real heresy was on the part of their oppressor, at once sought support among other men of influence in the church. To one of these, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Arius addressed a letter ending with the words: "Be mindful of our adversity, thou faithful comrade of Lucian's school."

This appeal was not in vain for Eusebius warmly supported their cause and became, in fact, the leading spirit of the Arian party. Eusebius is not to be confused with his namesake of Caesarea, the church historian, a contemporary and also a prominent figure in the controversy. The position of both men appears to be identical as far as the theological issue is concerned, but the former led the attack on the Alexandrian party, while the latter maintained a somewhat conciliatory position.

In Eusebius of Nicomedia Arius had found a powerful ally. This man had formerly been bishop of Berytus in Phoenicia, but, contrary to the then prevailing custom of the church, he had later transferred to the see of Nicomedia. This city, until Constantine established his government at Byzantium, was regarded as the capital of the eastern part of the empire. Eusebius was a friend and favorite of the imperial family. He had been the tutor of Julian, who later became the emperor as we have seen, and was said to have been connected with him through his mother. He enjoyed the confidence of Constantia, the emperor's sister, and through this association, wielded an expectional influence in the political affairs of the church.

While matters were in this critical state, Bishop Alexander added fuel to the flame by issuing a polemical letter to his "beloved and honored fellow-ministers ... everywhere" calling attention to the heresies which were being preached by his radical presbyter. He singled out for his invectives Bishop Eusebius, who "thinks that the affairs of the Church are under his control, because, forsooth, he deserted his charge at Berytus and assumed authority over the church at Nicomedia with impunity, and has put himself at the head of these apostates, daring even to send commendatory letters in all directions concerning them."

So much heat was generated by this letter, that a decision was reached finally to hold a general council to consider not only the Arian controversy, but other matters, such as the Meletian difficulty, which had arisen. One of these was the problem of the date of Easter.

5. *The Famous Council of Nicaea.*

This spectacular council convened in May of 325 at Nicaea (Nice), an ancient town of Asia Minor, in Bithynia, on the Lake Ascania. It remained in session until July 25 and the meetings were held in the imperial palace which Constantine had graciously assigned to the delegates for their deliberations. More than three hundred church dignitaries attended the meetings. Although most of these were from the eastern provinces, some came from as far away as Spain and Gaul.

Although the order of events is somewhat clouded in the accounts which have come down to us, the meeting appears to have been opened by the emperor himself. As soon as the delegates had assembled in the great hall of the palace, a hush fell upon them as the imperial presence was announced. First three members of Constantine's family entered the door, followed by a number of his friends. "And now," says Eusebius, the historian, "when all had risen at the signal which indicated the emperor's entrance, at last he himself proceeded through the midst of the assembly, like some heavenly messenger of God, clothed in raiment which glittered as it were rays of light, reflecting the glowing radiance of a purple robe, and adorned with the brilliant splendor of gold and precious stones." Constantine then addressed the assembly in Latin, for he did not use Greek fluently, and exhorted them to reconcile their difficulties, and overcome their differences, just as he himself had finally overwhelmed his own enemies.

But the doughty warriors of the church, tried by the fires of persecution, scarred with wounds both of the flesh and of the spirit, were not in a mood to yield readily to the pleas of peace until the deadly issue which had been raised was thoroughly explored. The Arian side of the controversy was supported by Eusebius of Nicomedia and his adherents, that of the opposition by Alexander, ably assisted by Athanasius, and the other delegates from the golden city. Most of the bishops present occupied a mediary position, not fully comprehending, perhaps, the real significance of the controversy.

Into the many matters debated there we cannot go. But the primary work of the council was devoted to the problem of evolving a creed for the definition of orthodoxy. Eusebius of Nicomedia precipitated the issue by offering a statement, which proved to be an unambiguous assertion of the Arian belief. This was promptly rejected by the delegates, whereupon Eusebius of Caesarea, who inclined toward Arianism, but hoped for a peaceful solution of the problem, presented another creed from which the objectionable doctrine had been deleted. The key sentence in this famous document was the following: "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible: – And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only begotten, that is, from the essence of the Father."

But there again was the fatal word "essence," one of the bones of the contention. Constantine, who had maintained a lively interest in the deliberations, finally made the suggestion that the word *homoousion,* that is to say, *one in essence,* be inserted into the ritual. This compromise was finally accepted and so the creed continued: "God from God, Light from Light, Very God from very God begotten, not made, One in essence (*homoousion*) with the Father..."

The famous council finally terminated its work and a great banquet was given the delegates by the emperor in celebration of the conclusion of the twentieth year of his reign. One may note with interest, that whatever their differences, the bishops of that older time were not unlike men of modern day, for the chronicler tells us: "Not one of the bishops was wanting at the imperial banquet, the circumstances of which were splendid beyond description."

But although the Arian party had been defeated in this test of strength, it was far from reconciled. The word *Homoousion* became the shibboleth of the orthodox. The extreme Arians became the *Anomoii* (Unlike), who denied the likeness of the Father and the Son; the Semi-Arians were the *Homoii* (Like), who admitted the likeness of the two, but were unwilling to subscribe to the degree of unity believed in by the *Homoousions*.

Bishop Alexander and his able lieutenant, Athanasius, returned in triumph to Alexandria, where three years later the latter assumed the direction of the great see. During this time the forces of Arius had been recovering from the shock of their defeat, and they were ready once more to do battle for their beliefs.

6. *The Crimes of Athanasius.*

Eusebius, who was in exile for a short time after the council, returned to imperial favor and about 330 succeeded in having the ban of exile removed from Arius himself. Thereupon Eusebius wrote to Bishop Athanasius requesting him to admit Arius and his friends to communion. His letter was accompanied apparently by a verbal threat that dire misfortunes would befall the bishop unless he acceded to the request. As one may easily believe, Athanasius refused to admit into his church anyone who had been repudiated by the Nicaean council, and most certainly not his enemy Arius.

This refusal was soon followed by a strong letter from the emperor himself, but Athanasius held firmly to his position. Since nothing was thus accomplished by this move, Eusebius now resorted to the well-tried method of preferring charges, and the emperor summoned the bishop to appear before him. Athanasius turned up at court in due time and so successfully defended himself against the charges that he was given a letter of commendation by Constantine and returned in triumph to Alexandria.

But this was only a prelude to the drama that was now to be enacted. For in 335, when the bishops were on their way to attend the consecration of the great church on Mount Calvary in Jerusalem, which was to mark the celebration of the thirtieth year of Constantine's reign, they gathered at Tyre to deliberate on the troubled matters of the Egyptian see. Two charges had been circulated against Athanasius. The first of these was known as the case of Ischyras. It involved an accusation that Macarius, one of the clergy of Athanasius, had used violence in attempting to prevent Ischyras, a Meletian presbyter, who had been condemned by an Alexandrian council, from holding services and had broken his chalice. Athanasius, on his part, contended that Macarius had found the unordained presbyter ill in bed and had merely urged him to desist from his irregular proceedings.

The second accusation, called the case of Arsenius, was of a more serious nature, being nothing less than a charge of murder. The bishop was accused of doing away with Arsenius, a bishop of Hypsele, and of using his hand for magical purposes.

When Athanasius arrived at the council of Tyre he immediately saw that little justice was going to be accorded him, since the Arians were there in overwhelming force. Condemnation was written in their faces. The alleged hand of Arsenius was actually exhibited and this grisly relic made a profound impression on those assembled.

But in the meantime an adventure had been taking place which was fully as exciting as modern tales of detective fiction. If the hand of the murdered Arsenius caused so much excitement, how much greater would be the sight of his mutilated body! Why, then, had this not been produced? Acting on his suspicion of fraud, a trusted deacon under Athanasius began to make inquiries and was finally led to an isolated monastery in the nome of Antaeopolis in Upper Egypt. There he learned that a man very much resembling the missing Arsenius had been living. Thereupon, the deacon made a raid upon the monastery, but when he arrived the bird had flown. Suspecting the connivance of Pinnes, the presbyter of the community, he at once arrested this rogue and took him down to Alexandria for further interrogation. In the meantime a monk had been apprehended, who had helped in the escape, and when Pinnes was confronted with this witness he finally broke down and confessed the plot. Arsenius was, indeed, the mysterious stranger and he had been hidden away until the charges had been "proved" against Athanasius.

Although this confession would have been sufficient vindication for the accused bishop, a more dramatic denouement was finally provided. While the trial was progressing, the servant of a magistrate in Tyre brought his master the startling news that Arsenius was actually residing at an inn of the city. When Athanasius received this information, he ordered the arrest of the suspect, who at first refused to admit his identity. But when he was finally recognized by the Bishop of Tyre, Arsenius reluctantly confessed.

On the day when the accusations were brought against him, and the hand of Arsenius had been introduced as the first exhibit of the prosecution, Athanasius faced his accusers calmly.

"Did you know Arsenius personally?" he demanded.

"Yes! Yes!" was the cry on all sides.

Thereupon Athanasius introduced as his exhibit Arsenius himself wrapped up in a cloak. Lifting one edge of the garment, the bishop showed that one hand was unhurt. There was a moment of profound suspense. Then Athanasius lifted the other edge, and when Arsenius was found to have a second hand, the bishop demanded that the assembly be shown where the third had been cut off. The meeting thereupon broke up in confusion.

7. *The First Exile of the Bishop.*

But the Arians were not dismayed by this sudden termination of their first case for they turned immediately with renewed vigor to the second. A commission of inquiry was appointed to investigate the question of the Meletian presbyter and its members were dispatched to Alexandria. Meanwhile Athanasius saw that matters were going against him. Afraid also that his life was in danger, he and four companions made their escape from Tyre in an open boat. They finally reached Constantinople, where the bishop determined to present his case to the emperor himself. But Constantine, probably sick of the entire matter, though astonished to see Athanasius in the city, at first refused to give him an audience or listen to his plea. But when the Alexandrian bishop asked for a lawful trial the emperor saw the justice of this and finally acceded to his request.

In the meantime the report from the Meletian commission had been received at Tyre. On the strength of this, although the details were kept secret, the bishops condemned Athanasius and restored Arius to communion in the church. But their triumph was short-lived, for on the heels of the condemnation there arrived preëmptory summons from the emperor to appear before him. Most of the bishops quietly departed for home, but Eusebius hastened back to Constantinople. There he dropped the original charges against the Alexandrian bishop, but preferred new ones of a more political nature. He accused Athanasius of preventing the corn ships from sailing to the capital. In vain the bishop argued that he was a poor man and had no power over the Alexandrian commerce. "You are a very rich man," retorted Eusebius, "and in Alexandria you can do what you want." Constantine, now thoroughly sick of the troublesome matter, or perhaps from suspicion of the loyalty of his subject, summarily ordered Athanasius into exile at Trèves in Gaul.

While Athanasius was spending his time in what he must have regarded as a distant outpost of civilization, a dramatic event took place in Constantinople. Arius, who was an old man, desired to obtain complete vindication of the charges against him and thus asked for communion in the church at Alexandria. When this was firmly refused, he forthwith journeyed to Constantinople, where the aged Bishop Alexander was compelled by the powerful Arians to agree to receive him into the church. But on the day before the communion, while the situation was becoming tense, poor Arius, taken ill in the street, died very suddenly. The opponents of the Arians naturally looked upon this as a divine retribution against his heresies; the discomfited Arians retorted with cries of magic and even hinted that there had been more than human intervention in the sudden death.

Athanasius spent his first exile as a guest in the imperial palace on the banks of the Moselle. He was kindly treated by Constantine, the eldest son of the emperor, and was allowed liberty both of movement and of correspondence. Finally on May 22, 337, a short time after he had been baptized by Bishop Eusebius, Constantine the emperor died at Nicomedia, leaving the empire to his three sons.

The usual turmoil of succession was avoided in this case, for the three brothers met at Sirium and agreed amicably upon the division of the empire. Constantine, the friend of Athanasius, took Gaul and Africa, Constans assumed Italy and Illyricum as his domain, and Constantius, the eastern provinces. The will of the emperor revealed that he had made provision for the restoration of Athanasius to his power in Alexandria, and since no appointment had been made during the absence of the bishop, Athanasius joyfully turned his face toward home. A letter was sent to the Alexandrians by Constantine, the son, in which he praised the virtues of Athanasius and explained that exile had been imposed upon him by the will of his father merely to preserve the life of the bishop from his enemies.

And thus it came about that Athanasius sat once more upon his throne. He arrived in Alexandria on November 23, 337, amid the great rejoicing of his people, although the Arians later claimed that the return was marred by seditions and rioting. This vindication of the bishop was a tremendous blow to the Arian group, and its members began an immediate campaign against Athanasius through the instrumentality of Constantius, who held suzerainty, instead of his brother Constantine, over Alexandria.

A strong Arian element existed in the city and the members of this group used every device known to annoy and disturb the bishop. Among the stories circulated was one to the effect that Anthony, the celebrated hermit, belonged to the Arian faith. This false report was soon quieted by the appearance of Anthony himself in the city.

As one chronicler has reported the story: "Anthony, the great leader, came to Alexandria, and though he remained there only two days, showed himself wonderful in many things, and healed many."

8. *The Life of the Anchorites.*

Since the development of the monastic life was one of the important contributions of this period in the history of the golden city, and since Anthony is a prototype of the early monks, it may be both diverting and instructive to survey the history of this curious character. The story of his life is derived almost solely from a biography written by Athanasius himself.

For those who prefer flights of fancy to the more sober narrative of the historian, there is no more delightful way to become acquainted with the Egyptian monks, and Saint Anthony himself, than through the romance of *Thais* by Anatole France. How better can we catch the spirit of these curious people than in the following paragraphs from that instructive satire?

"In those days the desert was peopled with anchorites. Upon each bank of the Nile numerous huts, built of branches and clay by hermits, were scattered at various distances apart, in such a way that those who dwelt in them could live in isolation, and yet assist each other in time of need. Churches, surmounted by a cross, rose up here and there high above the huts, and the monks assembled in them on feast days to assist in celebrating the Mysteries and to participate in the Sacraments. There were, too, right on the banks of the river, houses in which the Cenobites, each of whom was confined to his narrow cell, united solely in order to preserve better their solitude.

"The Anchorites and Cenobites lived abstemiously; eating nothing until after sunset and then only taking bread with a little salt and hyssop. Some buried themselves in the sand, making their home in a cavern or tomb, and leading a still more singular existence.

"They all wore a hood and robe, slept upon the bare earth after long vigils, sang psalms, and every day performed masterpieces of penitence. In consideration of original sin, they denied their bodies not only pleasure and gratification, but even that attention which today is considered indispensable. They considered that physical maladies made the soul more healthy, and that the flesh could receive no more glorious adornments than ulcers and sores. Thus were fulfilled the words of the prophets, who said: 'The deserts shall be covered with flowers.'

"Some of the guests of this holy Thebaid spent their time in asceticism and contemplation, while others earned their living by plaiting palm fibers, or hired themselves to neighboring farmers during harvest. The Gentiles falsely suspected some of living by robbery and of joining the wandering Arabs, who pillaged caravans; but in truth these monks despised riches and the scent of their virtues went up to heaven.

"Angels, in appearance like young men, came staff in hand as travellers to visit the hermitages, while demons, assuming the shapes of Ethiopians or animals, wandered around the hermits to tempt them. When, in the morning, the monks went to fill their pitchers at the fountain, they saw the footprints of Satyrs in the sand. Considered in its true and spiritual aspect, the Thebaid was a battlefield on which, at all hours and particularly during the night, wonderful combats between heaven and hell were fought.

"The ascetics, being furiously assailed by legions of the damned, defended themselves, with the aid of God and the angels, with weapons of fasting, penitence, and maceration. Sometimes the spur of carnal desires wounded them so cruelly that they groaned with pain, their moans being similar to the howls of famished hyenas. Then it was that the demons appeared to them in forms of beauty; for though demons are in reality ugly, they sometimes assume an outward beauty in order to veil their inner nature. The ascetics of the Thebaid saw with terror in their cells pictures of pleasure, unknown even to the voluptuous of that century; but, as the sign of the cross was upon them, they did not succumb to temptation, and the evil spirits, assuming their own shapes, fled away at dawn shameful and raging. It was not uncommon to meet one of them at daybreak fleeing in tears, and, when asked, replying: 'I am weeping and groaning because one of the Christians who dwell there has beaten me with rods, and has ignominiously driven me away.'

"The old men of the desert understood their powers over sinners. Their goodness was sometimes terrible. They possessed from the Apostles the power of punishing offenses against the true God, and nothing would save those whom they condemned. In the towns, and as far as Alexandria, people whispered in terror that the earth opened to swallow up those sinners who were struck by the rods of these old men. For this reason they were greatly feared by all who lived a vicious life, and particularly by pantomimes, buffoons, married priests, and courtesans.

"So great was the virtue of these good men that even the wild beasts submitted to their authority, and when a hermit was on the point of death a lion came to dig a grave with his claws. The holy man, knowing by this event that God would shortly call him hence, embraced all his brothers, and then lay down cheerfully to sleep in the Lord."

If one wishes to believe that these words of the French romancer tend to embellish and exaggerate the lives of the first monks, or to magnify their pious struggles with the desert demons, let him go to the original text of Athanasius. There he will find that Anatole France has actually given us a mild and expurgated paraphrase of the life as the Alexandrian bishop appears to have seen it with his own eyes. What he actually reported about the struggles of Saint Anthony himself will be given below.

9. *St. Anthony, Patriarch of the Monks.*

Since the life of St. Anthony exerted a profound influence throughout the Middle Ages and perhaps does even in our own day, a few of the details of this mystical and ascetic figure will be of interest to us. "His countenance had a great and wonderful grace," said Athanasius, "for if he were present in a large company of monks, and if any one who had not known him previously, wished to see him, he immediately passed by the rest, and hurried to Anthony, as though attracted by his appearance. Yet neither in height nor in breadth was he conspicuous above others, except in the serenity of his manner and the purity of his soul." He lived a life of rigid asceticism, "for he was ever fasting," says his biographer, "and he had a garment of hair on the inside, while the outside was skin, which he kept until his end. And he never bathed his body with water to cleanse himself, nor did he ever wash his feet, nor even endure so much as to put them into water, unless compelled by necessity. Nor did any one even see him unclothed, nor his body naked at all, until after his death, when he was buried."

Anthony appears to have been born about 250 of moderately affluent parents at Coma in Upper Egypt. When he was about twenty years of age his father and mother died leaving him to care for his home and his sister. But one day while attending church Anthony heard the words: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven." Whereupon Anthony disposed of all that had been left him by his parents. Placing his sister in a convent, he proceeded to live a life of solitude and prayer. At first he dwelt near the village, working a little for his food, but spending most of his time in meditation. "He ate once a day," reports Athanasius, "after sunset, sometimes once in two days, and often even in four. His food was bread and salt, his drink water only... A rush mat served him to sleep upon, but for the most part he lay upon the bare ground. He would not anoint himself with oil, saying it behooved young men to be earnest in training and not to seek what would enervate the body."

After a while, in order better to cope with the devils that beset him, Anthony moved from the village to the tombs, some distance away, where he took up his abode. He asked an acquaintance to bring him food occasionally and there he wrestled with his sins. The villagers, who had a lively curiosity about this strange young man, soon came over to visit him in his new home and found him lying in the tomb, apparently dead. But after Anthony had been carried back to the village, and revived, he requested that his friends return him to his cell. There he was beset by demons in various disguises. "But changes of form for evil are easy for the devil," says Athanasius, "so in the night they made such a din that the whole of that place seemed to be shaken by an earthquake, and the demons as if breaking the four walls of the dwelling seemed to enter through them, coming in the likeness of beasts and creeping things. And the place was on a sudden filled with the forms of lions, leopards, bulls, serpents, asps, scorpions, and wolves, and each of them was moving according to his nature. The lion was roaring, wishing to attack, the bull seeming to toss with his horns, the serpent writhing, but unable to approach; and the wolf as it rushed on was restrained; altogether the noises of the apparitions, with their angry ragings, were dreadful." But as one may readily surmise, Anthony overcame all these persecutions by the power of prayer and his own holiness of spirit.

From his cell in the tombs Anthony soon proceeded to better quarters, which he discovered in a deserted fort on a mountain not far from the Nile. There he dwelt for twenty years, living for the most part on loaves of bread and water which came from a spring in his dwelling place. But at the end of this time, he seems to have become more communicative and for a while deserted his solitary dwelling and mingled slightly in the affairs of the world.

The example set by Anthony had been followed by others and quite a colony began to assemble in the neighborhood of his mountain retreat. A very attractive picture of this community is painted by the chronicler, who, perhaps unconsciously, gets at the heart of the matter when he says: "For then there was neither the evildoer, nor the injured, *nor the reproaches of the tax-gatherer.*"

On two occasions Anthony appears to have visited Alexandria. The first of these was during the persecution of Diocletian, where he gave what help he could to those who were doomed by the magistrates. He, himself, according to his biographer, desired to become a martyr, but for some reason not stated was denied this privilege.

After the execution of Bishop Peter he again returned to the desert. The second visit was at the request of Athanasius to quiet the rumors that Anthony was a believer in the Arian heresy. Of this visit we have already spoken.

But finally the desert became too crowded with others who sought the carefree life of the monks, and Anthony began to look about him for a more solitary retreat. His eyes turned in the direction of the unknown desert to the east, and one day he joined a group of Arabs who were going in that direction. After a journey of three days and three nights the caravan came to a lofty mountain at the foot of which there ran a spring of clear, cold water. Near at hand a few palm trees grew and the ground was suited for cultivation. This barren hill is Mount Colzim, seven hours distant from the Red Sea, where to this day there exists an old cloister which bears the name of Saint Anthony. There the monk lived until his death in the year 356 at an age of more than one hundred years.

Insight is gained into the credulity of Athanasius rather than into the life of Anthony from the account of the miracles which he performed. As one may readily believe in the case of such a holy man, the monk found no difficulty in healing the sick and casting out demons from those afflicted with them. On one occasion he led a band of his followers unscathed through the Arsenoitic Canal, although its waters were infested with crocodiles; at another time when caught in the desert he quenched his thirst at a miraculous spring which the Lord made "to well forth where he had stood praying." Anthony also had the gift of prophecy and of second sight, as he showed in his warning to a certain general, Balacius, who was persecuting the Christians. The monk warned the general to desist from his ruthlessness, but Balacius laughed at the threat of wrath to come and said to Anthony: "Since thou takest thought for the monks, soon I will come after thee also." A few days later the scoffing general was bitten by a horse and shortly thereafter died from the infection.

Many instances are given of Anthony's gift of second sight. On one occasion he saw a vision of the soul of Amun, a monk who dwelt at Nitria, some thirteen days' journey from his mountain retreat. In due time the report arrived that Amun had passed away. On another occasion he told his followers that he saw two men in the desert. One had already died of thirst, but the other was still alive and help should be sent to him. Although some asked why Anthony had not given his warning in time to save the first traveler, he replied that God had wished to punish the first man with death, but desired to save the other. And thus we see that Anthony was a very holy man, whose habits of life were greatly to be emulated. At any rate the effects of this history exerted an untold, but immense influence during the centuries that followed.

10. *The Second Exile and its Termination.*

Let us return once more to the uneasy life of Athanasius himself, whom we left in Alexandria at the end of the first exile. Troubles were soon upon him again, for about this time Eusebius of Nicomedia, his old enemy, was appointed to the see of Constantinople and had constant access to the household of the new Emperor Constantius. The old charges were revived and new ones of sedition and riot added to the record. The blow was not long in falling. First a man by the name of Pistus was sent to Alexandria to assume the office of bishop, but when certain blemishes in his record made him generally unacceptable, Gregory of Cappadocia was selected at a synod in Antioch to succeed him. In order that the civil authority should be favorable to the Arian invasion, a new governor of Alexandria by the name of Philagrius was appointed by the emperor. Since there was no defense against this power poor Athanasius was forced to flee and in 339 he made his escape to Rome. There he found sympathy from the Italian Emperor Constans and the Roman bishops. But this was not sufficient to placate the wrath of Constantius whose feelings were kept constantly inflamed by the strong Arian party in his court.

And now a very curious incident occurred, for Constantius suddenly withdrew his opposition to the exiled bishop and extended the hand of friendship. Where he had shown implacable hostility before, he now became solicitous and kindly. This sudden change of face on the part of the emperor, however, was not occasioned by any genuine affection for Athanasius, for whom, on the contrary, he seems to have cherished a strong personal antipathy. It resulted rather from two causes, first, from the powerful support given the bishop by his brother Constans, and second, by the death in 343 of the strong leader of the Arian opposition, the Bishop Eusebius. Moreover, in 346, Gregory, the usurping bishop of Alexandria, passed away also, and the troublesome question had now to be settled as to who should be appointed his successor.

And so it came about that Athanasius was invited by Constantius to come and visit him on the expressed assumption that he was to be restored to his see in Alexandria. However, with an eye to the old saying that "one should fear the Greeks when they bear gifts," Athanasius at first refused to accept the invitation. But when a second, and then a third letter arrived, with increasing assurance that he was to be restored, the exile finally agreed to go to Constantinople. There he was received, certainly to his great surprise, with every assurance of good will on the part of Constantius and was granted a full restoration of his power. The emperor merely requested that one church be given to the Arian group in Alexandria, but this Athanasius refused to do unless similar privileges were accorded to certain followers of his at Antioch. So great was the bigotry of that early day, and so deep the hatreds, that nothing came of these negotiations. The failure of this compromise, however, did not stand in the way of the restoration, and thus it came about on October 21, 346 that Athanasius sat once more upon his troubled throne. His entry into Alexandria had the appearance of an imperial triumph. Some of his followers came a hundred miles to greet him and he was escorted to the city amid the rejoicing of the multitude.

For more than nine years Athanasius now enjoyed peace and happiness and the affairs of the golden city ran along smoothly without noticeable discord or civil disturbance. But as one may well surmise the old enemies of the bishop were not idle during these years. Constantius himself was busy in this interval with the troubles of his empire, and lacking the stimulus of the Arian bishop, Eusebius, was satisfied to leave the affairs of Alexandria alone. In 350 Constans was murdered and Constantius faced the danger of losing his power as the result of the usurpation of the western empire by Magnentius. But when this usurper's career had finally terminated in 353 by the route of suicide, and Constantius found himself the sole emperor of the Romans, he at last turned his eye upon his hateful bishop. Constantius had been forced by his brother, and by other circumstances, to support Athanasius, but resentment had been smoldering over the years at this compulsion. Now at last he was free to have his revenge. As Gibbon has aptly put the matter: "And the first winter after his victory, which he passed at Arles, was employed against an enemy more odious to him than the vanquished tyrant of Gaul."

11. *The New Persecution.*

The first warning of trouble came when Diogenes, the secretary of the emperor, appeared in Alexandria during the summer of 355 and attempted to seize the person of the bishop. But the forces which he could command were small and he could do nothing against the wills of both the people and the magistrates. But in January of the following year Duke Syrianus appeared in the golden city and began to concentrate troops from the legions stationed in Egypt and Lybia. On the night of February 8, while Athanasius was presiding at a crowded service, the soldiers under the command of Syrianus burst in the doors of the church. The bishop at once calmly took his seat upon his throne in the recess of the apse and ordered the service to continue. But in the meantime the soldiers were crowding into the church and the friends of the bishop begged him to escape while there was still time. This he refused to do until his congregation had withdrawn to safety.

But the progress of the soldiers to the chancel was impeded by the crowds of people in the church, and before they could lay their hands upon the defiant bishop, he had been forcibly removed to a place of safety by his followers. Thus began the third exile of Athanasius, the termination of which we have already described at the beginning of this chapter. Some accounts say that the bishop was concealed in Alexandria itself, but the best authority indicates that his exile was spent among the desert monks, part of the time in Upper Egypt while the search for him was at its height, and then later in Nitria.

This exile, so spectacularly begun, lasted for nearly five years until Emperor Constantius finally died in 361 and removed this peril from the adventurous career of the bishop.

12. *Julian Deposes His Bishop.*

After Athanasius had been allowed to resume his throne by the death of his implacable enemy and the clemency of his successor, the Emperor Julian, he enjoyed eight months of undisturbed residence in Alexandria. But as soon as the emperor had restored order throughout his domain, he began his campaign to have the old pagan forms of worship instituted in all the cities. As one may well imagine, he foresaw endless trouble in the golden city over this hateful edict if the doughty warrior of the faith, the Bishop Athanasius, remained in control of his see. Consequently, Julian issued a stern order that this "enemy of the gods" should be removed. Athanasius, unwilling to use the undoubtedly great power which he controlled in the city, decided to withdraw and reassured his lamenting friends with the words: "Be of good heart; it is only a cloud and will soon pass away."

Since the civil authorities had been ordered to seize the bishop, Athanasius escaped in a boat and sought sanctuary in the upper reaches of the Nile. But the government had gotten wind of this intention, and dispatched a boat-load of soldiers in pursuit. The chase became exciting and the government forces drew near to the escaping bishop. Since he was probably both out-numbered and out-armed, Athanasius soon saw that he must use guile if he was to effect his escape. Therefore, when his boat had rounded a bend in the river and was out of the sight of the pursuers, its course was reversed and the bishop's party calmly floated past the vessel of the emperor's men. They were hailed and asked whether they had seen the boat of the fleeing bishop. "He is not far off," Athanasius is reported to have said calmly.

13. *Athanasius Retires to the Country.*

The fourth exile lasted something over fifteen months and was terminated by the death of Julian on June 26, 363. Athanasius made his way secretly to the court of Jovian, the successor of Julian, at Edessa in Macedonia, where he was kindly received by the emperor and accompanied him to Antioch. From Jovian he received letters which restored him again to power and he hastened home to take possession of his see. But the next year Jovian died and Valens, who had succeeded to the throne of the eastern empire, issued an edict in the spring of 365 in which all the bishops who had been restored by Julian were ordered expelled by the civil authorities.

In vain the followers of Athanasius argued that this order could not possibly apply to their bishop, who had actually been deposed by Julian and restored by Jovian. The magistrates were adamant in their interpretation of the law, but when they set about the execution of the order, tumults broke out in Alexandria which lasted for a month. Finally the prefect said that he would refer the matter to the emperor. On October 5 of that year a letter was received from Valens expressly stating that the order applied also to the Alexandrian bishop. But when the soldiers broke into the Church of Dionysius to arrest Athanasius, they found that he had already been warned of his danger and had escaped to the country.

14. *The Final Vindication.*

The fifth exile of the bishop was spent quietly in a country house not far from Alexandria and apparently the attempt to seize his person was not vigorously pursued. His troubles, however, were soon over for in September of 365 a daring attempt was made by Procopius to seize the empire from Valens. Since the moment was not propitious for allowing dissensions to smoulder in Alexandria, Athanasius was once more invited to resume his power. On February 1, 366 he was publically recalled and the civil authorities themselves escorted Athanasius in state to the Church of Dionysius.

And so at last the bishop had won his long and difficult battle. The Arian forces were finally subdued and the dictates of the Council of Nicea prevailed in the end. Athanasius passed the remainder of his life in the peaceful pursuit of his duties and died finally on the second day of May in the year 373.

CHAPTER 15

LATER HELLENISTIC WRITERS

1. *The Career of Lucian*

MANY YEARS AGO WE SAT ONE night in the hall of the Museum in Alexandria and listened to the poets of the golden age of Ptolemy Philadelphus. But the years have rolled into centuries since that memorable occasion and we may well inquire what has happened to the literati during the long flow of the river of time. Does the epic poet still war with his lyrical contemporary? Or have the modes of writing changed to other forms since the days of Callimachus, Apollonius, Theocritus, and all the others of that distant age?

If one will step down to the government building in Alexandria where the records of the law courts are kept he may find there one of the most astonishing successors of the older literati. His name is Lucian and he has been appointed recently by the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, – who appreciates fine writing, – as a kind of recorder for the courts. He is about sixty years of age, and as he himself said when the appointment came to him, "he already has one foot in Charon's boat." But there is still a sparkle in his eye and his step is firm. It is noised about the city that the position is only a sinecure anyway, and that Lucian is now picking his deputy so that he may return to Athens to spend his declining days among his old friends in the haunts where most of his best work was produced.

And so we seek out Lucian and talk an hour with him. But though we find him here spending his last days in the golden city, Lucian does not belong to Alexandria. He belongs to the whole world which for so many centuries has smiled at his wit. He is the prototype of Rabelais, and Swift, and Voltaire of later years, but, unlike the two latter, his satire lacks the bitter sting. If one will read him closely, he will find in Lucian much more of the broad humor of Mark Twain of a later day, than of the savage wit of Swift. For Lucian pricked with his darts the foibles of the second century in much the same manner as Mark Twain pricked those of the men of his own time.

Lucian was born at Samosata on the Euphrates river somewhere around the year 125 A. D. and lived at least until the reign of Marcus Aurelius which ended in 180 A. D. Little enough is known about his life, although there are biographical notices in a number of his works. But as Lucian himself tells us in his whimsical sketch entitled *The Dream, or Lucian's Career,* he left school in his late teens to become an apprentice under his uncle in the trade of sculpturing. His father thought that his son might have some talent in this direction, for, says Lucian, "whenever my teachers dismissed me I would scrape the wax from my tablets and model cattle or horses or even men, and they were true to life, my father thought. I used to get thrashings from my teachers on account of them, but at that time they brought me praise for my cleverness, and good hopes were entertained of me, on the ground that I would soon learn the trade, to judge from that modelling."

But a great sculptor was lost before his career had really begun, for Lucian was instructed by his uncle to strike a slab of stone with a light blow of his chisel. In his inexperience he struck too hard and the stone broke into pieces. Whereupon his uncle took a stick which lay close at hand, says Lucian, "and put me through an initiation of no gentle or encouraging sort, so that tears were the overture to my apprenticeship."

Lucian thereupon gave up his uncongenial labor and fled to his home. That night he had a dream, or "to use the words of Homer,[1]

'A god-sent vision appeared unto me in my slumber
Out of immortal night,'

so vivid as not to fall short of reality in any way."

Two women appeared to Lucian and began to struggle for the possession of his person. The first of these was masculine of build, unkempt, with horny hands that showed the marks of toil, and which were covered with marble-dust. She addressed Lucian in these words:

"Dear boy, I am the trade of Sculpture, which you began to learn yesterday, of kin to you and related by descent... If you are willing... to come and live with me, you will be generously kept and will have powerful shoulders, and you will be a stranger to jealousy of any sort; besides you will never go abroad, leaving your native country and your kinsfolk, and it will not be for mere words, either, that everyone will praise you.

---

[1] *Iliad,* 2, 56.

"Do not be disgusted at my humble figure and my soiled clothing, for this is the way in which Phidias began, who revealed Zeus, and Polycleitus, who made Hera, and Myron, whom men praise, and Praxiteles, at whom they marvel. Indeed, these men receive homage second only to the gods. If you become one of them, will you not yourself be famous in the sight of all mankind, make your father envied, and cause your native land to be admired?"

The other woman, who had fair features, a dignified bearing, and was well dressed, thereupon declared that her name was Learning. And in this manner she addressed Lucian:

"If you follow my advice, first of all I shall show you many works of men of old, tell you all their wondrous deeds and words, and make you conversant with almost all knowledge, and I shall ornament your soul, which concerns you most, with many noble adornments, — temperance, justice, piety, kindliness, reasonableness, understanding, steadfastness, love of all that is beautiful, ardor toward all that is sublime; for these are the truly flawless jewels of the soul...

"You who are now the beggardly son of a nobody, who have entertained some thought of such an uncultured trade, will after a while inspire envy and jealousy in all men, for you will be honored and lauded, you will be held in great esteem for the highest qualities and admired by men preeminent in lineage and in wealth... If ever you go abroad, even on foreign soil you will not be unknown or inconspicuous, for I will attach to you such marks of identification that everyone who sees you will nudge his neighbor and point you out with his finger, saying: 'There he is!' If anything of grave import befalls your friends or even the entire city, all will turn their eyes upon you; and if at any time you chance to make a speech, the crowd will listen open-mouthed, marvelling, and felicitating you upon your eloquence and your father upon his good fortune. They say that men become immortal. I shall bring this to pass with you; for though you yourself depart from life, you will never cease associating with men of eminence. You know whose son Demosthenes was, and how great I made him... And Socrates himself was brought up under the tutelage of our friend Sculpture, but as soon as he understood what was better he ran away from her and joined my standard; and you have heard how his praises are sung by everyone."

Faced by these arguments, and still smarting from the stick, Lucian at once declared himself in favor of Learning and adopted the precarious life of the literary man. As to the other claimant for his favors Lucian gives us an account of her sad fate. "When I abandoned Sculpture," he says, "at first she was indignant and struck her hands together and ground her teeth; but at length, like Niobe in the story, she grew rigid and turned to stone."

2. *Easy Lessons in Oratory.*

After this Lucian took up the study of rhetoric, which was then in high favor in the Hellenistic world, as we may judge from the patronage accorded it and its ancillary subjects by Emperor Marcus Aurelius. After completing his education Lucian appears to have made a tour of Ionia practicing his profession, visiting among other cities Antioch, where he undoubtedly became acquainted with the Christians. For a while he also practiced law, especially in the capacity of an advocate, but when this did not give him sufficient reward, he began to write orations for others to deliver.

What Lucian thought of some of the orators of his day may be gleaned from one of his most interesting satires entitled *The Orator's Guide.* This was written to instruct a young friend in the noble profession. Lucian indicates that there are two roads to perfection, one the arduous path of careful study of ancient modes, attended by temperance and perseverance, the other the more pleasant method of aping modern exponents of the art. If you follow the second path, says Lucian,

"Then you must bring with you a supply of ignorance – this is the first and greatest requirement. Then you must have plenty of assurance, together with impudence and shamelessness. Anything in the way of honor and fairness, or moderation, or modesty, you had better leave at home – they are quite useless, and, in fact, actually a hindrance to our undertaking. You must, however, try and bring the loudest possible voice and an impudent brawl, and a gait and manner like my own. These few things are absolutely necessary, and sometimes they are sufficient by themselves. But in addition to this, I advise you to let your dress be white, embroidered with flowers and of Tarentine material, so as to allow the limbs to be seen through it; your shoes, too should be of open work, and in the Attic style, such as women wear, or else you should have smart Sicyonian slippers, conspicuous by their white felt. Besides this, you must be followed by a number of attendants, and never be seen without a book in your hand. These things you must provide yourself. The rest you will pick up as you go along by watching and listening to me...

"In the next place you must scrape up some fifteen or twenty little Attic words and phrases from somewhere, and, when you have thoroughly mastered them, you must keep them always handy at the tip of your tongue, and sprinkle them as a sort of seasoning over all your speeches. Never mind about the rest of your vocabulary, even though it should be quite unlike these elegant expressions, and altogether incompatible and out of keeping with them. Only let your purple dye be of the finest and brightest, and never trouble yourself though your cloak itself be of coarse goats' hair. Next you must get up some obscure and outlandish expressions, such as may have been used, perhaps, a few times by ancient writers; and when you have secured a store of these, you may keep them ready to throw at the head of everyone to whom you talk. In this way you will gain the respect of the multitude, and they will think that you are something wonderful, and of a learning quite over their heads, if you call familiar things by unfamiliar names. Moreover, you may sometimes produce a good effect by coining new and strange expressions of your own, and if, in doing so, you fall into some solecism or barbarism, your one unfailing remedy is impudence. You must be ready with the name of some poet or historian – whether such a person ever existed or not – who was a writer of the most polished style, and has stamped the expression with his approval...

"If you have to make a speech upon some subject or theme which your audience has selected for discussion, however difficult it may be, you must pronounce it quite easy and trifling, and make light of it altogether, as though the dissertation proposed were mere child's play to you. As soon as the subject is decided on, make no delay, but plunge into it at once, saying whatever comes first to the tip of your tongue, without any attention to such trifles as the arrangement of your discourse, and putting the first point first, and the second after it, and then the third, and so forth; but whatever occurs to you, out with it at once, and if it so happens, don't hesitate to buckle your leggings on your head and your helmet on your ankle. Only, whatever you do, drive on, rattle away, never be silent a moment...

"I had almost forgotten to mention a point which is most important and necessary, if you would attain to renown. I mean that you must treat all other speakers with contempt. If one makes a good speech, you must say that it is not original, but pilfered from somebody else; if he has been only moderately successful, you must declare the whole to have been utterly bad. You must always come in after the rest of the audience has been seated; in this way you will keep yourself in evidence...

"These, then, are the precepts which I commend to your observance, as those which, I assure you, I myself put in practice long ago with the happiest possible results."

To what extent Lucian practiced his own words we do not know, but he appears to have traveled widely giving lectures and declamations in various cities and towns in Syria, Greece, Italy and even as far away as Gaul. The natives of this remote Roman province were apparently eager to hear the wit of Lucian, for he remained there about ten years and returned to his native haunts a man of wealth. Or at least in his dialogue called *The Double Indictment*, Oratory says of the author: "And at length I journied with him as far as Gaul, where I made him rich."

In this amusing satire Lucian is involved in a lawsuit with both Oratory and Dialogue as his accusers. The former claims to have been his faithful wife, who is now turned out in favor of "that bearded man in the mantle, Dialogue, who is said to be the son of Philosophy and is older than he is."

Thus Oratory makes her complaint: "When this man was a mere boy, gentlemen of the jury, still speaking with a foreign accent... I found him wandering about in Ionia, not knowing what to do with himself; so I took him in hand and gave him an education. As it seemed to me that he was an apt pupil and paid strict attention to me – for he was subservient to me in those days and paid court to me and admired none but me – I turned my back upon all others who were suing for my hand, although they were rich and good-looking and of splendid ancestry, and I plighted myself to this ingrate, who was poor and insignificant and young, bringing to him a considerable dowry consisting of many wonderful speeches."

To this indictment of desertion Lucian replied that "she was no longer modest and did not continue to clothe herself in the respectable way that she once did when Demosthenes took her to wife, but made herself up, arranged her hair like a courtesan, put on rouge, and darkened her eyes underneath."

Thereupon Dialogue in his turn assails Lucian and complains bitterly that he has been taken from his former lofty association with the gods and the cycle of the universe and has been degraded by being forced to associate with Jest and Satire.

"Have I not been dreadfully maltreated," he wails, "when I no longer occupy my proper role, but play the comedian and the buffoon and act out extraordinary plots for him? What is most monstrous of all, I have been converted into a surprising mixture, for I am neither afoot nor ahorseback, neither prose nor verse, but seem to my hearers to be a strange phenomenon made up of different elements, like a Centaur as it were."

To this complaint Lucian makes the following defense: "Gentlemen of the jury, the suit that I am contesting now before you is unexpected. In fact, I should have looked for anything else in the world sooner than that Dialogue should say such things about me. When I took him in hand, he was still dour, as most people thought, and had been reduced to a skeleton through continual questions. In that guise he seemed awe-inspiring, to be sure, but not in any way attractive or agreeable to the public. So first of all I got him into the way of walking on the ground like a human being; afterwards by washing off his accumulated grime and forcing him to smile, I made him more attractive to those who saw him; and on top of all that, I paired him with Comedy, and in this way too procured him great favor from his hearers, who formerly feared his prickles and avoided taking hold of him as if he were a sea-urchin."

3. *The Sale of the Philosophies.*

At any rate, at the age of forty years, that is to say, about the year 165 Lucian gave up his travels and his work in the company of Oratory and Dialogue, for he was now in comfortable circumstances. He appears to have returned to his native Samosata, and moved a short time later to Greece.

There in Athens Lucian lived in considerable style, devoting his time to writing and to the study of philosophy. This is rather curious since Lucian leveled the darts of his most interesting satires against the different schools of philosophy. One of the most amusing of these is *The Sale of the Philosophies*, an excerpt from which will show the character of Lucian's pungent wit:

ZEUS. (To an attendant) You arrange the benches and make the place ready for the men who are coming. (To another attendant) You bring the goods and set them in a row; but first brush them up a bit, so that they will look well and will attract as many customers as possible. (To Hermes) You, Hermes, be the auctioneer and call them together.

HERMES. Under the blessing of Heaven, let the buyers now appear at the sales-room. We shall put up for sale philosophies of every type, and all manner of creeds. And if anyone is unable to pay cash, he is to name a surety and pay next year.

ZEUS. Many are gathering, so we must avoid wasting time and delay them. Let us then begin the sale.

HERMES. Which do you want us to bring on first?

ZEUS. This fellow with the long hair, the Ionian, for he seems to be someone of distinction.

HERMES. You Pythagorean, come forward and let yourself be looked over by the company.

ZEUS. Advance him now for sale.

HERMES. The noblest of philosophies for sale! the most distinguished! Who will buy? Who wants to be more than man? Who wants to understand the music of the spheres and to be born again?

BUYER. For looks, he is not bad, but what does he know best?

HERMES. Arithmetic, astronomy, chicanery, geometry, music, and quackery. You see in him a first-rate fortune teller.

BUYER. May I question him?

HERMES. Yes, and good luck to you!

BUYER. Where are you from?

PYTHAGOREAN. From Samos.

BUYER. Where were you educated?

PYTHAGOREAN. In Egypt, with the wise men there.

BUYER. Come now, if I buy you, what will you teach me?

PYTHAGOREAN. I shall teach you nothing, but will make you remember (for since the soul knows everything, learning is merely remembering).

BUYER. How will you make me remember?

PYTHAGOREAN. First by making your soul pure and purging off the filth upon it.

BUYER. Well, assuming that my purification is complete, what will be your method of making me remember?

PYTHAGOREAN. In the first place, long silence and speechlessness, and for five entire years no word of talk.

BUYER. My good man, you had better teach the son of Croesus! (who was mute). I want to be talkative, not a graven image. However, what comes after the silence and the five years?

PYTHAGOREAN. You shall be instructed in music and geometry.

BUYER. That is delightful! I am to become a fiddler before being wise!

PYTHAGOREAN. Then, in addition to this, you will be taught how to count.

BUYER. I know how to count now.

PYTHAGOREAN. How do you count?

BUYER. One, two, three, four, . . .

PYTHAGOREAN. There! Do you see? What you believe to be four is really ten, and the perfect triangle, and the oath of our brotherhood. (since $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10$).

BUYER. Well, by your greatest oath, that is, By Four! I have never heard doctrines more divine or more esoteric.

PYTHAGOREAN. Thereafter, my friend, you shall learn of earth and air and water and fire, – what their flux is, and what form they have and how they move.

BUYER. Why, has fire form, or air, or water?

PYTHAGOREAN. Yes, very notably, for without shape and form there can be no motion. And in addition you shall learn that God is number and mind and harmony.

BUYER. What you say is wonderful.

PYTHAGOREAN. And beside all that I have said, you shall learn that you, who think yourself a single individual, are actually one person in appearance and another in reality.

BUYER. What's that? I am another and not this man who now talks to you?

PYTHAGOREAN. At present you are he, but at another time you manifested yourself in a different body and under another name, and in due course you shall migrate again into another person.

BUYER. You mean that I shall be immortal, changing into many forms? But enough of this. How do you stand in the matter of diet?

PYTHAGOREAN. I eat nothing that has life, but all else except beans.

BUYER. Why so? Do you dislike beans?

PYTHAGOREAN. No, but they are holy, and wonderful in their nature. First, they are naught but the seed of man, and if you open a bean while it is still green, you will see that it is full of the principle of life. Moreover, if you cook it and set it in the light of the moon for a fixed number of nights, you will make blood. But more than this, the Athenians are accustomed to choose their magistrates by means of a ballot of beans.

BUYER. You have explained everything excellently and worthy of your philosophical character. Come, strip, for I want to see you unclad. By Hercules! His thigh is of gold! (Legend says that Pythagoras had a golden thigh). He seems to be a god and not a mortal, so I shall certainly purchase him. (To Hermes). What price do you sell him for?

HERMES. Ten minas. (About $250).

BUYER. I'll take him at that figure.

4. *Alexander, the False Prophet.*

Lucian was always interested in attacking with his satire the foibles of his fellow men, and in particular, those who pretended to powers which they did not possess. One time he visited the celebrated imposter and worker of false oracles, known as Alexander, the Paphlagonian.

The self-styled prophet was born at Abonouteichos on the southern shore of the Black Sea, and established there an oracle to Aesculapius, the god of healing. He forecast the second coming of this diety and so contrived that an egg containing a serpent was found in the excavations being made for a new temple. This second form of the god was called Glycon, and he was symbolized by a snake to which had been fixed the image of a human head.

Lucian wrote an extensive account of the practices of the soothsayer under the title of *Alexander, the False Prophet.* For a while it was believed that Lucian was writing fiction, but the discovery of coins with Alexander's likeness issued during the reigns of the emperors Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius confirms the existence of the prophet. In his description of Alexander, Lucian says:

> "As regards his person ... he was tall and handsome in appearance, and really godlike. His skin was fair, his beard not very thick. His long hair was in part natural, in part false, but very similar, so that most people did not detect that it was not his own. His eyes shown with a great glow of fervor and enthusiasm; his voice was at once sweet and very clear; and in a word, no fault could be found with him in any respect as far as all that went.
>
> "Such was his outward appearance, but his soul and his mind — O Hercules, Protector! O Zeus, Averter of Mischief! O Twin Brothers, our Saviors! May it be the fate of our enemies and ill-wishers to meet and have business with the like of him! In understanding, quick-wittedness, and penetration he was far beyond everyone else... But he made the worst possible use of them, and with these noble instruments at his service soon he became the most perfect rascal of all of those who have been known far and wide for villany."

Although Alexander used all the devices known to the tricksters of his day, his specialty appears to have been the issuing of oracles. Lucian gives a number of these, all of which, one can be sure, turned out badly. One of the most celebrated of these "autophones," as they were called, was issued when the Romans in the time of Marcus Aurelius were at war with the Germans. The oracle recommended that two lions be cast alive into the Danube, together with a quantity of perfume, in order that victory be assured; or as Lucian gives the words of the prophet:

"Into the floods of sacred Ister's stream
I bid thee cast those monsters of the sands,
Two lions, who now guard fair Cybele's dream,
And perfume off the blooms of Inde's strands;
Then will great glory come with welcome peace,
And all the land from bloody strife will cease."

But the results were exactly contrary to the expectations of the Romans. For, as Lucian puts it, "when all this had been done as he had directed, the lions swam across to the territory of the enemy and the barbarians slaughtered them with clubs, thinking them to be some kind of foreign dogs or wolves. Immediately thereafter that terrible disaster befell our side in which a matter of twenty thousand men were wiped out at a blow. Then came what happened to Aquileia, and that city's narrow escape from capture."

But Alexander was quite equal to this unexpected result, for he said that, although the god had indeed foretold victory, "he had not indicated whether it would go to the Romans or to the enemy."

According to Lucian, he himself had a narrow escape from death at the hands of Alexander. For the prophet had developed a deep hatred toward Lucian because the latter had taken such a skeptical attitude toward his shrine. But when Lucian once visited him, accompanied, however, for safety's sake by two soldiers, Alexander pretended friendship. "He extended to me his right hand to kiss, as his custom was with the public," says Lucian. "I clasped it as if to kiss it, and almost crippled it with a right good bite!" But Alexander received this insult with apparent good will, saying that he "would demonstrate Glycon's worth by showing that he transformed even bitter foes into friends." However, when Lucian departed by boat, Alexander bribed the commander of the vessel to throw his enemy into the sea. But the commander turned out to possess a tender heart and was unable to execute this unpleasant order.

5. *Lucian as a Teller of Tales.*

Perhaps the most famous of all the writings of Lucian is his satirical romance called, suspiciously enough, *A True Story*, about which the author makes the following admission:

"[The readers] will find it enticing enough not only for the novelty of its subject, for the humor of its plan and because I tell all kinds of lies in a plausible and specious manner, but because everything in my story is a more or less humorous parody of one or another of the poets, historians, and philosophers of old, who have written much that smacks of miracles and fables...

"Their guide and instructor in this sort of chicanery is Homer's Odysseus, who tells Alcinous and his court about winds in bondage, one-eyed men, cannibals and savages; also about animals with many heads, and transformations of his comrades wrought with drugs. This stuff, and much more like it, is what our friend used with which to humbug the illiterate Phaecians. Well, on reading all these authors, I did not find much fault with them for their lying, as I saw that this was already a common practice even among men who professed philosophy. I did wonder, however, why they thought that they could write lies and not get caught at it. Therefore, as I myself, thanks to my vanity, was eager to hand something down to posterity, that I might not be the only one excluded from the privileges of poetic license, and as I have nothing true to tell, not having had any adventures of significance, I took to lying. But my lying is far more honest than theirs, for though I tell the truth in nothing else, I shall at least be truthful in saying that I am a liar. I think that I can escape the censure of the world by my own admission that I am not telling a word of truth."

The history of Lucian then goes on to recount the adventures of the author who set sail with some fifty companions from the Pillars of Hercules into the western ocean. These intrepid mariners were finally carried by a whirlwind into the upper atmosphere and thence, after sailing for seven days and seven nights, arrived at the surface of the moon. The marvelous adventures which then ensued have furnished the prototype for many other stories written in modern times. Undoubtedly Swift's *Gulliver's Travels,* Cyrano de Bergerac's *Journey to the Moon,* Jules Verne's romances, including *From the Earth to the Moon,* and Poe's *The Balloon Hoax,* to mention only a few, are modern descendants of *The True Story* of Lucian. The tale reminds one also quite vividly of Mark Twain's whimsical romance describing *Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven,* especially in its style and type of humor.

We shall speak also of one other contribution of Lucian, which exerted considerable influence upon the subsequent literary efforts of the world. This is a tale entitled *Lucius, the Ass*, which recounts the adventures of a certain Lucius, who visited one time in the house of a Thessalian lady learned in magical arts. The hero observed the sorceress change herself into a bird by anointing herself with a potent drug, and he decided to perform the same experiment upon himself. But unfortunately for poor Lucius he got hold of the wrong unguent and found himself transformed into an ass, although he still possessed his human senses and his memory.

Lucius learned that he could regain his own form if he would eat roses, and the story revolves around his quest for some of these flowers. As one can well imagine, the adventures of the unfortunate donkey furnish a lively vehicle for the arts of Lucian, and we are carried through one episode to another until Lucius finally regains his own form. It is not known whether Lucian himself invented this tale, or based it upon an earlier record, for the same story has been written in more extended form by his contemporary Lucius Apuleius, and has come down to us under the attractive title of *The Golden Ass*.

The number of works which are extant under the name of Lucian is in excess of eighty, although at least twenty are regarded as spurious. They cover a wide variety of subjects and defy a general resumé. They range from such whimsical subjects as *The Consonants at Law*, a suit between Sigma versus Tau, in the Court of the Seven Vowels, *The Fly*, a witty essay not to be confused with science, and *The Lover of Lying*, an inquiry into the reasons why some take pleasure in falsehood for its own sake, to the satires against philosophy and pagan forms of worship found in *The Fisherman*, a dialogue between Lucian and the philosophers, and *The Downward Journey*, an insight into the lower world.

6. *The Origin of the Novel.*

Among the many unique contributions of the Alexandrian muse to the modern world is the novel. Imperfect though the efforts were of the first writers who attempted this form of literature, and defective though their production proved to be in style and plot, this invention of the Hellenistic men of letters was destined to provide the world with a rich inheritance. It cannot be claimed that Alexandria itself gave to the world the romantic novel – perhaps the sins of the golden city are great enough without this – but Egypt furnished the scenes for two of them and one of the writers is called Achilles Tatius of Alexandria.

Although there are fragments of novels which appear to have been written prior to the Christian era, the real development may be attributed to a period somewhere between the early part of the second century and the latter part of the third century of our era. Of these only four have come down to us in extended form. These were probably written in the following order: *Chaereas and Callirrhoë* by Chariton of Aphridisia, a city of Caria in southern Asia Minor, *Ethiopica* by Heliodorus of Emesa in Syria, *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus, perhaps a native of Lesbos, and *The Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon* by Achilles Tatius of Alexandria. In addition to these tales, summaries have been given by Photius (820-891) in his *Bibliotheca* of two others, one entitled *Babylonica* by Iamblichus, a Syrian (not the Neoplatonist), and another by Antonius Diogenes, under the engaging title: *The Wonderful Things Beyond Thule.* One should probaby mention in this history of the early novel the so-called *Milesian Tales,* now lost, recorded by Aristides (150-100 B. C.) of Miletus, and *The Love Romances* of Parthenius, a native probably of Nicaea, who thrived about 70 B. C. The latter is a collection of short stories, interesting mainly for their connection with the development of the novel.

In order that one may get some idea of the flavor of these old Hellenistic prototypes of the ambitious productions of our own age, we shall give brief summaries of three of them. Since our principal concern is with the influence of Alexandria upon this literary form, let us begin with the novel of Achilles Tatius, although this is inferior in some respects to the works of both Heliodorus and Longus.

7. *The Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon.*

According to Suidas, a Greek lexicographer who probably lived in the latter part of the tenth century, Achilles Tatius was an Alexandrian, who became finally a Christian and a bishop, although it is difficult to note these religious tendencies in his novel. He also wrote a treatise on the sphere and works on etymology, besides a narrative entitled *A Miscellaneous History of Famous Men.* Although Achilles Tatius is called a native of Alexandria and there is internal evidence in his novel to corroborate this, it is difficult to believe that a native of Egypt would describe the hippopotamus as follows: "It is like a horse, or so the account of it runs, as regards its belly and its feet, except that it has cloven hooves; it is about the size of the largest kind of ox; and it has a tail both short and hairless, as is indeed the rest of its body. Its head is round, and of considerable size, with its cheeks like those of a horse; its nostrils wide and breathing out hot vapor, as from a spring of fire; its jaws enormous as its cheeks, and its mouth gaping open right up to its temples; its eye-teeth crooked, in shape and position like those of a horse, but about three times as big."

The story of *The Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon* opens at Sidon, the principal city of Phoenicia. The author represents himself as admiring a picture of "Europa and the Bull" exhibited in the city, when he is addressed by a young man, who confesses: "I am one who has suffered many buffets from the hand of Love."

This is Clitophon of Tyre, son of Hippias, and nephew of Sostratus, who plays an important role in the latter part of the story. Clitophon is prevailed upon by the author to tell his history and the novel is then related in the first person.

It seems that Sostratus, the uncle, who lived in Byzantium, had sent his wife Panthea and his daughter Leucippe to Tyre to escape a war that had broken out with the Thracians. When these arrived at his home, Clitophon said: "I suddenly saw a maiden ... who blinded my eyes, as with a stroke of lightning, by the beauty of her face." Love was also awakened in the heart of Leucippe. But there were complications in the romance, for Clitophon, by the expressed wishes of his father, had been engaged to his half-sister, Calligone. This difficulty was removed, however, by a happy accident. For it so happened that a young man of Byzantium, named Callisthenes, a wild young blade, had heard reports of the beauty of Leucippe and desired to marry her. He followed Leucippe and her mother to Tyre, but since he had never seen the object of his affection, he kidnapped Calligone by mistake and fled with her to Byzantium.

The mother of Leucippe did not approve of the match between Clitophon and her daughter, so the lovers finally decided to flee from Tyre. They were accompanied by Clinias, a cousin of Clitophon, by Satyrus, a devoted slave of the household, and by two servants of Clinias. Arriving at Berytus, the party secured passage on a boat bound for Alexandria. On shipboard they struck up an acquaintance with a young Egyptian by the name of Menelaus, who was returning to his native country. Since Menelaus proved to be a very pleasant person, he soon became a cherished companion and the sharer of their adventures.

"On the third day of our voyage," said Clitophon, "the perfect calm we had hitherto experienced was suddenly overcast by dark clouds and the daylight disappeared. A wind blew upwards from the sea full in the ship's face, and the helmsman bade the sailyard be slued round... About mid-day or a little after the sun totally disappeared, and we could see one another no better than by moonlight. Lightning flashed from the sky, and the heavens roared with thunder so that the whole air rang with the din; this was answered from below by the turmoil of the waves, and between sky and sea whistled the noise of the contending winds. In this manner the air seemed to be turned into one vast trumpet. The ropes beat against the sail, creaking as they crossed one another, and there was every reason to fear for the broken planks of the ship that the rivets would no longer keep them together and that the whole vessel would fall apart. The wicker bulwarks were actually under water all around the ship."

Finally in the midst of the tempest the boat ran upon a rock and was soon dashed to pieces. Leucippe and Clitophon clung to the prow of the vessel and were washed ashore near Pelusium, the gateway to Egypt. Concerning the fate of Clinias, Satyrus, and their new friend Menelaus, they could obtain no knowledge, so they mourned them as lost.

Hiring a boat, the survivors started up the Nile, the standard route to Alexandria, but on the way they were beset by a band of Egyptian river pirates, who appear to have infested the Delta and the seacoast at that time. Leucippe was taken away to be sacrificed to the gods, but Clitophon was rescued by an army of soldiers sent out from Alexandria to reduce the stronghold of the robbers. The leader of the soldiers, a general named Charmides, was much interested in the story told by Clitophon and promised to help in the rescue of Leucippe, although he had to await reinforcements before he could attack the bandits. But to the horror of Clitophon, while standing on the edge of a deep trench separating the soldiers from the robbers, he apparently saw Leucippe slain by her captors as a sacrificial offering to the gods.

Clitophon went that night to the tomb of his beloved and was on the point of killing himself in his grief, when two men came running up and staid his hand. These he recognized to be Menelaus and Satyrus, who told him that, after having been washed ashore by the tide, they had fallen into the hands of the robbers. Although Clitophon was pleased to see his comrades, he was still deeply grieved at the fate of Leucippe until Menelaus told him to open the tomb, within which Leucippe was found alive and well. Menelaus then offered the explanation that he had been selected by the robbers to make the sacrifice, and by means of legerdemain, assisted by some stage props taken from a captured actor, he had only appeared to sacrifice Leucippe. Thus the lovers were reunited and they returned joyfully to the camp.

The attack upon the robbers' stronghold was delayed by the arrival of news that "the Sacred Bird had arrived, bearing with him the sepulcher of his father," and a delay of five days had been ordered in the march of the reinforcements.

"What bird is that," asked Clitophon, "which is so greatly honored? And what is this sepulcher that he carries?"

"The bird is called the Phoenix," was the answer. "He comes from Ethiopia, and is about the size of a peacock, although the peacock is inferior to him in beauty of color. His wings are a mixture of gold and scarlet; he is proud to acknowledge the Sun as his lord, and his head is witness of this allegiance, for it is crowned with a magnificent halo – the halo is the symbol of the sun. It is of a deep magenta color, like that of a rose, of great beauty, with spreading rays where the feathers spring. The Ethiopians enjoy his presence during his life-time, and the Egyptians at his death; when he dies – and he dies after a long period of years – his son makes a sepulcher for him and carries him to the Nile."

This delay in the attack upon the robbers nearly proved fatal to the lovers for General Charmides became enamored of Leucippe and began to plot how he might secure her. Unfortunately for the general, however, when he finally moved against the enemy, they opened dykes in the river and the army was overwhelmed by the rushing water. Those who were not drowned became easy victims for the spears of the robbers, and one of these was the general. Also among the slain was one of the officers, a man named Gorgias, who had fallen in love with Leucippe and had administered to her a love philter. This drug proved to be so powerful that Leucippe had become temporarily unbalanced, but she was rescued from her unhappy plight by another admirer named Chaereas, who lived by fishing on the Island of Pharos and had been a member of the fleet sent out against the buccaneers.

8. *Adventures in Alexandria*

Reinforcements finally arrived from Alexandria and the robbers were then overwhelmed, their stronghold razed, and their forces scattered. Thereupon the lovers, accompanied by their friends and by Chaereas, resumed their interrupted journey to Alexandria and at last reached the golden city. The description of Alexandria as seen by Clitophon is interesting to us and runs as follows:

"I entered the Gate of the Sun, as it is called, and was immediately struck by the splendid beauty of the city, which filled my eyes with delight. From the Gate of the Sun to the Gate of the Moon – these are the guardian divinities of the entrances – led a straight double row of columns, about midway between which lies the open part of the town. In it there are so many streets that walking in them you would believe that you were abroad while still at home.

"Proceeding a few hundred yards further, I came to the quarter called after Alexander, where I saw a second town. This splendid place was cut into squares, for there was a row of columns intersected by another at right angles and of equal length. I tried to cast my eyes down every street, but my gaze was still unsatisfied, and I could not grasp all the beauty of the spot at once. Some parts I saw, some I was on the point of seeing, some I earnestly desired to see, some I could not pass by. That which I actually saw kept my attention fixed, while that which I expected to see would drag it on to the next. Therefore, I explored every street, and at last my vision unsatisfied, exclaimed in weariness: 'Oh, my eyes, we are vanquished!' Two things struck me as especially strange and extraordinary – it was impossible to decide which was the greatest, the size of the place or its beauty, the city itself or its inhabitants; for the former was larger than a continent, the latter outnumbered a whole nation. Looking at the city, I doubted whether any race of men could ever fill it; looking at the inhabitants, I wondered whether any city could ever be found large enough to hold them all. The balance seemed to be exactly even.

"It so happened that this was the time of the sacred festival of the great god whom the Greeks call Zeus, the Egyptians Serapis, and there was a procession of torches. It was the greatest spectacle I have ever beheld, for it was late evening and the sun had gone down. But there was no sign of night; it was as though another sun had risen, but distributed into small parts in every direction. I thought that on this occasion the city vied with the sky for beauty. I also visited the Gracious Zeus and his temple in his aspect as god of Heaven. And then praying to the great god and humbly imploring him to see that our troubles might come to an end at last, we returned to the lodgings which Menelaus had rented for us."

But adventures were not at an end, for Chaereas now proved himself to be a villain. Inviting the lovers and their friends to visit him in his house upon the Island of Pharos, he hired some pirates to burst in upon his party and kidnap Leucippe. In the ensuing brawl Clitophon was injured, but despite this a pursuit was organized. As they neared the vessel of the pirates a young lady, whom they took to be Leucippe from her clothes, was brought onto the deck of the vessel, beheaded, and thrown into the sea. Then, indeed, was Clitophon overwhelmed once more with grief, and he and his companions returned in sorrow to Alexandria. There they encountered Clinias, who related how he had been rescued from the sea and had returned to Sidon, from which he had just come with messages for Clitophon and Leucippe from their parents. Bitter was it for Clitophon to learn too late that the match between the two lovers had been approved by all concerned.

Now that Leucippe was presumed dead, Clitophon was wooed by a rich widow, who, although living temporarily in Alexandria, had her home in Ephesus. Clinias urged the suit upon his friend with the words: "When beauty, wealth, and love beckon you all at once, it is no time for sitting down and procrastination. Her beauty will bring you pleasure, her wealth luxurious living, and her love the respect of men." These arguments finally prevailed upon the unwilling Clitophon and he agreed to attend Melitte to Ephesus, where the marriage would be celebrated. He was accompanied by Clinias and Satyrus, but Menelaus decided to remain in his native city.

9. *The End of the Story.*

When Clitophon and his companions finally reached the palatial residence of Melitte in Ephesus, the unexpected again took place. For while a festival in honor of the return was being prepared, the party went out by carriage to visit the country villa of the widow.

"On our arrival," says Clitophon, "we were walking through the rows of plants in the garden when suddenly there threw herself at our feet a woman wearing heavy fetters and holding a hoe, her head shorn, her person dirty, clad in a short and wretched garment. 'Have pity on me,' she cried, 'my lady, let a woman pity a woman, and one that was once free, and was born so, though now, by the decree of Fate, a slave.'"

In this manner was Leucippe again restored to her lover after having been sold into slavery by her captors. As it turned out later, the unfortunate girl who had been slain and thrown into the sea, had been dressed in Leucippe's clothes in order to deceive the pursuers. Chaereas, her abductor, had met a just death at the hands of the pirates, and Leucippe was sold into slavery.

The adventures of the lovers now enter a somewhat farcical phase, for at this inauspicious moment Thersander, the lost husband of Melitte, was given up by the sea and returned home well and full of vigor. He did not follow the example of Enoch Arden of a later day and retire quietly from the scene. On the contrary, his violent temper got the better of him when he found Clitophon in his home and he proceeded to give this unfortunate young man a sound beating. Although Clitophon was also thrown into chains by the irate husband, he was soon rescued by Melitte.

Sosthenes, the steward of Melitte who had originally purchased Leucippe from the pirates and had been dismissed as a reward for his trouble, soon hatched a plot with Thersander to kidnap Leucippe. Poor Clitophon was also again apprehended and this time placed securely in jail. Melitte attempted to coax her husband out of his ill humor in order to discover where Leucippe had been taken. But Thersander was doubtful of the sincerity of his wife, and bitterly lamented his fate, saying of Clitophon: "That scoundrel has the better of me everywhere. I think the cut-purse must be a wizard as well. Melitte loves him, Leucippe loves him; would God that I might become Clitophon!"

Thersander then tried to bribe the jailer to poison Clitophon, but when this plot proved unsuccessful, he contrived that a prisoner should be introduced into Clitophon's cell to tell him that Leucippe had been slain by the jealous Melitte. Once more Clitophon was overwhelmed with grief, but he was consoled by Clinias who said prophetically: "Who can know... but that she will come to life again? Has she not died more than once and more than once been restored to you?"

Finally Clitophon was summoned into court and there accused of robbing Thersander of his wife's affections. Under the pressure of his heavy grief and desiring to die, Clitophon confessed to the murder of Leucippe. In vain Clinias rushed to his defense with the truth. Melitte demanded that Sosthenes be produced in court as a witness. Thersander countered this by hustling his steward out of the country, and then preferred the new charge that Clitophon and Melitte had also slain Sosthenes.

It is interesting to observe that the established maxim of modern courts in murder cases, that of demanding the *corpus delecti,* was completely violated in this ancient case. Poor Clitophon was condemned by the court and sentenced to die. He was first ordered into the torture chamber, however, that he might be questioned concerning the complicity of Melitte in his crime. But just at this critical moment the cry went up that the priest of Artemis was approaching to do sacrifice to the goddess. During these sacred rites all judicial proceedings must cease. It also happened by fortuitous circumstances that Sostratus, the father of Leucippe, was the head of this sacred embassy. And from this one now begins to believe that the troubles of the lovers are almost at an end.

In the meantime Leucippe had escaped from the cottage where

Sosthenes had imprisoned her, and had fled for sanctuary to the temple of Artemis. There she was soon found by her father and the case against Clitophon accordingly fell to the ground. Although the sentence of death still hung over his head, he was released from his chains, but bound over to Sostratus for later appearance in court. At this decision Thersander made a great outcry and started a riot, but he was dragged away still shouting vows of vengeance.

Leucippe then agreed to subject herself to "the ordeal of the Panpipes." In this ordeal a maiden accused of unchastity enters the grotto of Pan. If she is pure a clear, musical note is heard from the interior of the cave; otherwise a groan issues from the grotto, and when the door is opened the girl has disappeared. At a new trial held the next day at the insistence of Thersander, Melitte gave her testimony and to establish its truth agreed to undergo "the ordeal of the Styx." In this ordeal the witness enters a spring with the words written on a tablet about her neck. If the words are false, then a torrent of water rushes forth and, reaching the neck of the witness, covers the lying testimony. It is needless to say that both Leucippe and Melitte came through their ordeals unscathed.

Shortly thereafter Sosthenes was apprehended and when Thersander learned of this, he waited not on the order of his going, but hastily departed from the city. Thereupon a decree of banishment was issued against him. Thus everything ended as it should with virtue rewarded and villainy paid in full. Leucippe and Clitophon were married, and their happiness was increased by learning that Callisthenes, who, as we have told earlier in the story, ran off with Calligone, the sister of Clitophon, had reformed from his evil ways, and had married his captive with the blessings of all concerned.

10. *The* Ethiopica *of Helidorus.*

The curious old story of Achilles Tatius, with its complex of incident, and its many obvious blemishes of plot and style, is similar in many ways to the novel of Helidorus. In fact, some of its incidents appear to have been borrowed from the *Ethiopica,* which probably in its turn had a prototype. Little is known about Helidorus, although he says at the end of his romance that he was a native of Emesa in Phoenicia, that his father's name was Theodosius, and that he belonged to the family of the priests of the sun. Socrates in his *Ecclesiastical History* speaks of a certain Heliodorus, bishop of Tricca in Thessaly, who imposed celibacy upon his clergy and who composed in his youth a love romance under the title of *Ethiopica*. That this worthy churchman was actually the writer of the story is doubted by many authorities.

The story of Heliodorus opens in a manner sufficiently lively to intrigue the interest of anyone addicted to tales of adventure. For well might Robert Louis Stevenson have envied the following introduction:

> "The day had begun to smile cheerily, and the sun was already gilding the tops of the hills, when a band of men, in arms and appearance pirates, having ascended the summit of a mountain which slopes down toward the Heracleotic mouth of the Nile, paused and contemplated the sea which was expanded before them. When not a sail appeared on the water to give them hopes of booty, they cast their eyes upon the neighboring shore, where they beheld the following scene: A ship was riding at anchor, abandoned by her crew, but to all appearance laden with merchandise, since she drew much water. The beach was strewn with bodies newly slaughtered; some quite dead, others dying, yet still breathing, gave signs of a combat recently ended. Yet it appeared not to have been a planned engagement, since there were mingled with these dreadful spectacles the fragments of an unlucky feast, which seemed to have concluded in this fatal manner. There were tables, some yet spread with food; others grasped by hands which had snatched them up as weapons. Cups lay in disorder, half fallen out of the hands of those who had been drinking from them, or which had been flung instead of missles; for the suddenness of the affray had converted goblets into weapons."

In the midst of this grisly banquet we find the hero and the heroine of the tale, — Theagenes, a young man of princely bearing, and Chariclea, "a maiden of uncommon and almost heavenly beauty." The tale thus opens near its middle, for the adventures began in Ethiopia, when Persina, wife of Hydaspes, the king of that country, gave birth to a daughter, whose skin was white through the effect of a marble statue upon the queen before the child was born. Fearing that her explanation would not satisfy the king, Persina gave her daughter into the charge of Sisimithrus, an Ethiopian nobleman, together with a ring and a silken fillet on which was written an account of the circumstances of the child's birth.

In the course of time Sisimithrus entrusted the child to the care of Charicles, a priest of the temple of Delphi, who brought her up under the name of Chariclea. And there it came about that Theagenes, a native of Thessaly, who had arrived in Delphi on a sacred mission, met the young priestess and fell in love with her. Since Charicles kept a jealous eye upon his ward, for he intended her to be the wife of his nephew, Theagenes persuaded an Egyptian by the name of Calasiris to help him in his suit of Chariclea. Calasiris was advised in a dream to take the two lovers to Egypt and after considerable intrigue the three embarked upon a ship bound for Sicily. But on the trip the vessel was seized by pirates, who took their captives to the coast of Egypt.

The difficulties of the lovers were now complicated by the fact that the leader of the pirates fell in love with Chariclea. A wedding feast was prepared on a stretch of sand near the banks of the Nile and the fate of the priestess, indeed, seemed sealed. But at this critical moment a fight began between the captain and his second in command, who had also fallen in love with Chariclea. This episode brings us to the opening scene of the story.

The action of the tale now moves on apace. The lovers were captured by a band of robbers, who took them to their cave in which was concealed a large amount of treasure. From these dangers they finally escaped when the stronghold of the robbers was taken by the forces of the satrap of Egypt. Clariclea was removed to the home of Nausicles, a Greek merchant, who had instigated the attack upon the robbers on the complaint that they had captured his mistress. Theagenes was carried off to be a present for the Persian king. The date of the story is thus seen to be before the days of Alexander the Great, while Egypt was still under the domination of the Persian empire.

A series of lively adventures then ensued, in which the lovers were several times near death, especially through the jealousy of Arsace, queen of the city of Memphis. In this place their friend Calasiris finally died. The two lovers were at last captured by Hydespes, king of Ethiopia, and were brought by him to Meroe, his capital city. There the king was advised by his priests, who belonged to the religious sect of the Gymnsophists, to sacrifice Theagenes and Chariclea to the deities of the sun and the moon. When these sacred rites were about to be performed, the ring and the fillet were revealed at the critical moment and the entire story was finally told to the king. The claim of Chariclea to be recognized as the heiress of the Ethiopian throne was confirmed by Sisimithres, and by Charicles, priest of Delphi, who had arrived opportunely in Meroe after a long journey about the world in search of his beautiful ward. And thus the tale comes to its end with the following words:

"The youthful pair then, crowned by Hydaspes with white miters, and invested with the dignity of priesthood, sacrificed under propitious omens. Accompanied by lighted torches and the sound of pipes and flutes, Theagenes and Hydaspes, Charicles and Sisimithres, in chariots drawn by horses, Persina and Chariclea, in one drawn by milk white oxen, were escorted into Meroe amidst shouts, clapping of hands, and dancing, there to celebrate with greater magnificence the more mystic portions of the nuptial rites."

11. *The Romance of Daphnis and Chloe.*

The story of *Daphnis and Chloe* is of an entirely different nature from the tales of adventure which we have just described. It is a pastoral novel which may well be regarded as the forerunner of many similar tales written during the romantic movement of the sixteenth century. It is quite suggestive of more modern stories, such for example, as the idyllic tale told by W. H. Hudson in *Green Mansions.*

Of the author, Longus, nothing at all is known and even his name is under suspicion, for as J. C. Dunlop says in his *History of Prose Fiction* (1888): "It is extremely doubtful whether Longus was ever the name of any Greek author."

The scene of Daphnis and Chloe was laid near Mytilene, on the island of Lesbos in the Aegean Sea, where Lamo, a goat-herd, discovered a male infant beautifully dressed, whom he named Daphnis. "His mantle, or little cloak, was purple, fastened with a golden brooch, and by his side there was a small dagger, with a handle of polished ivory." Two years later Dryas, a shepherd, found in a cave of the Nymphs a girl baby, apparently well born, whom he brought up under the name of Chloe. "There lay tokens beside her; a girdle embroidered with gold, a pair of gilded shoes, and ankle-bands all of gold."

The two children grew up together and tended their flocks in the rich meadows. Some of the scenes painted for us by the author are of rare beauty and the charm of the romance can be understood from a passage like the following:

> "Sweet then was the singing of the grasshoppers, sweet was the odor of the fruits, and not unpleasant the very bleating of the sheep. A man would have thought that the very rivers, by their gentle gliding away, did sing; and that the softer gales of wind did play and whistle on the pines; that the apples, as languishing with love, fell down upon the ground."

As Chloe developed in youth and beauty Daphnis fell in love with her. But so also did others in the rural community. One of these was Dorco, the herdsman, who attempted to capture Chloe by dressing himself in the skin of a wolf. His plot was foiled, however, by the dogs who set upon him and injured him badly.

The adventures which accompanied the development of the love story are all mild in comparison with the other novels. Pirates once visited the fields and, after stealing the cattle, seized Daphnis and carried him out to sea. But Dorco had given Chloe a magic pipe which he had used in tending his herds. Thereupon, "Chloe taking the pipe and putting it to her lips, began to play and whistle as loudly as she possibly could. The cattle aboard the pirates' ship presently heard and recognized the music, and with one leap and a huge bellowing shot themselves impetuously into the sea." As a result the boat was upset, and the pirates drowned because of their heavy mail, but Daphnis swam safely to the shore.

Another adventure occurred to the young lovers when some young gallants from Methymna, a rival city on the island, started a riot as the result of a hunting expedition. One thing led to another until war was declared on Mytilene by the citizens of Methymna, as a result of which Chloe was taken prisoner. But the god Pan came to her rescue, and while the Methymnians were celebrating their victory "on a sudden all the land seemed to be on fire. Then suddenly their ears were struck with an impetuous clattering of oars as if a great navy were coming." Frightened by these signs, the Methymnians appealed to the gods for instructions and were advised by Pan to return Chloe and her flocks to their field. As a result of this the feud between the two cities reached an amicable end.

"And now winter has come on," says the chronicler, "a winter more bitter than war to Daphnis and Chloe. For on a sudden there fell a great snow, which blinded all the paths, stopped up all the ways, and shut up all the shepherds and the husbandmen. The torrents rushed down in flood, and the lakes were frozen and glazed with crystal. The hedges and trees looked as if they would break down under their weight of snow; the whole face of the earth had disappeared, except that which lay around the fountains and the rills. No one led his flocks to pasture; but lighting great fires, at cock-crowing, some employed themselves in twisting rope, some in weaving goats' hair, and some in making snares and nets to catch the birds."

It was this latter device that Daphnis used to see Chloe, for in front of the cottage of Dryas there grew two tall myrtles and an ivy-bush much frequented by the birds. Here Daphnis spread his nets and by this strategem he was able to visit Chloe before her cheerful fire.

Amid such rural scenes the two young people grew up and their affection for one another gradually deepened. But presently the path of true love became troubled since Chloe had many suitors for her hand. Then Daphnis enjoyed a stroke of luck for he was directed in a dream to search the seashore and there he found a purse containing three thousand drachmas in the wreckage of a boat. This sum softened the heart of Dryas and Daphnis was accepted as a favored suitor.

The story ends with the revelation of the high births of both Daphnis and Chloe. For it turned out that Daphnis was the son of Dionysophanes and Clearista, the lord and lady who owned the fields in which Daphnis had tended his goats. He had been exposed as an infant when the couple decided that their family of two sons and a daughter would be too large with the addition of another son. Later they bitterly regretted this treatment of the child, since one of the sons and the daughter had died.

At the great feast given by Dionysophanes to honor the discovery of Daphnis, the clothes that had been left with Chloe as a baby were exhibited and claimed by Magacles, one of the richest men of the city. In defense of his conduct he said that he had been led to the cruel treatment of his daughter through early poverty, but now he rejoiced to find her again a young lady of such striking beauty. The romance then ends with the marriage of the young couple, now possessed of wealth and station beyond their highest dream. But they could not forget the pleasures of the country life and the happy pair returned again to the fields to make their home.

12. *Other Contributions to Hellenistic Literature.*

Although the satires of Lucian and the novels which we have described constitute, perhaps, the principal contribution of the later Hellenistic writers to the literary modes of the world, there were others who produced works of memorable consequence.

The first of these was Plutarch, one of the most versatile geniuses of his age, who has gained immortality through his famous forty-six *Parallel Lives.* Plutarch was born at Chaerones in Boetia around 46 A. D. and died there about 120 A. D. At the age of nineteen he moved to Athens, where he studied mathematics, rhetoric, and philosophy, the latter under Ammonius, who expounded to him the doctrines of Plato. Afterwards he visited Egypt and during the reign of Emperor Vespasian (70-79 A. D.) he lectured in Rome to audiences patronized by some of the leading citizens of the empire. When Plutarch finally returned to his home in Boetia he became the archon and priest of Apollo and doubtless finished his days in a contemplation of the divine mysteries.

When one reads the *Parallel Lives* of Plutarch he is always astonished at the vast amount of research that must have gone into their writing. The project was originally undertaken to provide a series of biographies in pairs, in which one Greek was compared with one Roman of similar characteristics and attainments. For example, we find Demosthenes paired with Cicero, Alexander the Great with Caesar, and so on. Since the reader, from the quotations given earlier in this chronicle, is already familiar with the graphic style of Plutarch and has observed his keen perception of the unusual and dramatic episodes in the lives which he portrays, it will be unnecessary to dwell further upon the characteristics of this author. In addition to the *Parallel Lives,* Plutarch also wrote voluminously on many other subjects, which have been collected in a series of more than sixty essays under the title of *Opera Moralia.*

Another unusual production of the vivid age of which we write was the celebrated work of Athenaeus, issued under the repellent title of *Deipnosophistae,* which may be freely translated as *The Banquet of the Philosophers.* As the reader has already observed, a significant part of the present chronicle could never have been written had not the conversation of the philosophers at that famous banquet been recorded for us by Athenaeus. For the work is a gold mine of curious facts, literary allusion, and piquant comments relating to many of the famous characters in the early history of the Mediterranean region.

The facts about Athenaeus himself are scanty enough. He was born at Naucratis in Egypt, about 45 miles south-east of Alexandria, which accounts perhaps for his store of information about the golden city. He flourished somewhere near the end of the second and the beginning of the third century of our era. That he survived Emperor Commodus, who died in 192, is known by his contemptuous reference to the habits of this wretched ruler.

The Banquet of the Philosophers is really an encyclopedia, devoted in considerable part to the art of preparing and consuming food. But interspersed among these culinary matters one finds countless references to historical and literary figures, with generous quotations from many books that have long since disappeared. Although the work purports to relate the conversation at a single banquet, the comment reported in the fifteen books which comprise it would have furnished the entertainment for a year of banquets. As a matter of fact Athenaeus himself gets lost in his own welter of words, for although the banquet was supposed to have started on the holiday of Parilia, which was held in April, in one of the later books the guests are made to wonder how cucumbers could be served to them in January. Perhaps, however, that was the normal duration of banquets in those famous times! This work is not to be held in high regard for its literary merits, but rather for the vast amount of interesting information which it contains about the customs and the lives of people who lived so many years ago.

Others there are who merit a record in our chronicle, for busy were the scribes in the Museum in Alexandria and elsewhere throughout the Hellenic domain of the Roman world. There was, for example, Dion Chrysostom (c. 40-114 A. D.), born at the foot of Mount Olympus in Bithynia, who wrote many essays on literary, political, and philosophical subjects; and Pausanias, Greek traveler of the second century, who produced his *Description of Greece* in 173 A. D.; and Aelius Aristides (129-189), one of the most celebrated of the later Sophists; and Apollonius Dyscolus, the grammarian, who lived and died in poverty in what was once the famous Bruchium in Alexandria.

Nor should one forget the debt which we owe to the historians, without whose help much of this chronicle could never have been written. There was Dio Cassius (c. 150-235), surnamed Cocceianus, grandson of Dion Chrysostum, who wrote a *History of Rome* in eighty volumes from the time of the landing of Aeneas to the reign of the Emperor Alexander Severus (222-235).

Another who merits our attention was Diodorus Siculus, who flourished during the time of Julius Caesar and Augustus, and traveled much in Egypt, where he doubtless visited the Museum in Alexandria in the course of writing his *Historical Library* in forty books. Although much of this great work is lost, which related the historical record of the world from the earliest legends of the Hellenic tribes to the time of Caesar's Gallic wars, it is fortunate, indeed, that the part which still survives tells the life of Alexander the Great.

Nor should we fail to mention Appian of Alexandria, who lived during the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antonius, nor his contemporary Arrian, who was born about 96 A. D. in Nicomedia in Bithynia. The first of these historians has told us the story of Rome in twenty-four books, of which about half are still extant; the second, in his *Anabasis of Alexander* written in seven books, has given us the most detailed account of the life and adventures of the founder of the golden city.

And also among these chroniclers of the past was Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who flourished during the reign of Augustus. His work entitled *Roman Antiquities* provides us with a graphic picture of the fortunes of the Eternal City from its mystical origins to the beginning of the first Punic war.

And finally, we should mention Josephus, who although neither an Alexandrian nor a Roman, has given us invaluable information about the rulers of the golden city and committed his *Jewish Antiquities* and other works to the tongue of the ancient Hellenes. Josephus was born in the first year of the reign of Caligula and died probably near the end of the rule of Domitian.

Others there are who belonged to this notable line of writers and who followed the Alexandrian tradition. Unfortunately, the story of all their works would carry us far afield. But in this brief and cursory glimpse of that ancient culture we can see, perhaps, the golden thread binding the modern world to that ancient one which is now only a memory that slowly fades away behind the ever-thickening veil of the past.

CHAPTER 16

DIOPHANTUS AND HIS MESSAGE

1. *The Sailors and the Coconuts*

PERHAPS THE READER AT SOME time in his life has been plagued by the problem of the sailors and the coconuts. In many guises and with variations of numerous kinds it has come down through the centuries. It pounces upon one from unexpected places; it fastens its insidious coils upon his mind; it steals his slumber. For of specious simplicity is the problem.

In one of its current forms the problem runs like this. Five sailors were one time cast away upon a desert island, where, to provide themselves with food, they gathered a certain number of coconuts. During the night one of the sailors awakened and fearing treachery on the part of his comrades, he decided to take his share and hide it from the others. But when he had divided the coconuts into five equal piles, he found that one coconut remained. Not wishing to add this extra coconut to his own pile, he tossed it away to the monkeys who were watching the procedure. A little later during the night a second sailor awakened. Doubting on his part the honesty of his companions, he also decided to take his share of the coconuts. But when in his turn he had divided into five equal piles the coconuts left by his comrade, he discovered as in the first case that one coconut remained. This he also tossed to the monkeys. In similar manner, according to our chronicler, the remaining three sailors awakened one after the other during the night and in their turn took what they believed to be their equal shares. As in the other instances, one coconut remained at each division and this was given to the monkeys. When morning came and the five sailors assembled to divide the coconuts left by the last man, they discovered that the pile divided evenly into five parts without an extra coconut. The problem thus proposed is to determine how many coconuts were in the original pile and how many were received by each sailor in the morning.

Now when this problem is formulated in the language of algebra a curious situation is discovered. For we find that we obtain a single equation which contains two unknown quantities. Thus, if we denote by x the unknown number of coconuts gathered by the sailors and by y the number which each man received in the morning, the two quantities are related by the equation: $1024x - 15{,}625y = 8404$. Such a relationship is obviously indeterminate, since many numbers will satisfy it. But there is one conspicuous way in which it differs from the usual indeterminate equation; the unknown values of x and y must be positive whole numbers, that is to say, *integers*, since x and $5y$ represent the number of coconuts in the pile before and after the adventures of the night.

It is a matter of much more than casual difficulty to discover a pair of integers which will satisfy the equation, although there is an infinite sequence of such pairs, since all the numbers are large. The smallest pair of such numbers is 3,121 and 204 and the next pair is 18,746 and 1,228. A formula giving the sequence is readily written down as soon as the first pair has been determined. These pairs of numbers may be shown to satisfy the conditions of the problem. Our chronicler fails to tell us, however, what the sailors said to one another the next morning when they discovered that their pile of more than three thousand coconuts had shrunk so mysteriously during the night to scarcely more than a thousand. Perhaps they blamed the monkeys!

The problem of the sailors and the coconuts belongs to a class of puzzles which have been called *Diophantine problems* after the famous Alexandrian mathematician Diophantus. Although there is no evidence that Diophantus actually proposed linear problems similar to the one which we have just described, he propounded more difficult ones and invented very ingenious methods for their solution. That the world has followed avidly his lead in these curious puzzles is attested by the fact that the *theory of numbers* to which they belong has attracted the genius of some of the greatest mathematical minds of modern times. Some of the most beautiful results in this great science and some of the most profound discoveries in analysis trace a direct lineage to the pioneer work of the celebrated Alexandrian mathematician, Diophantus.

2. *Diophantus, the Father of Algebra.*

Diophantus may be very properly called the Father of Algebra, and to the extent that this great servant of modern science has enlightened the world, our present civilization owes another debt to the Museum of the golden city. About Diophantus himself we know very little and even the date of his life is quite uncertain. The best inference, however, places him around 250 A. D., although it is curious to observe this solitary genius struggling with a body of abstract ideas in a period so tumultuous and uncertain. He does not belong to the tradition of the Neopythagoreans for his ideas, though they may be regarded as having root in the number theories of Pythagoras, bear no relationship to the metaphysical concepts of the philosophers. Diophantus belongs rather to the tradition of modern science. Although his mathematical methods were overwhelmed for thirteen centuries by the destructive forces of the latter days of the Roman empire, they finally emerged in the great scientific renaissance of modern times.

One must not believe, however, that the work of Diophantus was entirely disregarded by his contemporaries, for it was greatly appreciated by both Theon and his talented daughter Hypatia, whose story we shall tell in the next chapter. But the great tide of religious fanaticism, which was then rising against all the pagan monuments, was soon to overwhelm the Museum and prevent, in the ensuing chaos, any real contemplation of the new message to mankind.

The only real information which we have about the life of Diophantus comes from an epitaph written by a friend who had evidently absorbed some of the new methods of the master. This curious inscription tells us that "Diophantus passed one-sixth of his life in childhood, one twelfth in youth, and one-seventh more as a bachelor; five years after his marriage a son was born; the son died four years before his father at half his father's age."

If one has the curiosity to untangle the information contained in this mathematical problem, he will discover that he has obtained an epitome of the life of the Father of Algebra. For he will learn that Diophantus lived to be 84 years of age, that he married when he was 33, and five years later, at the age of 38, had a son. He will also discover that the young man died at the age of 42, when his father was 80 years old. If one wishes to put the construction on the problem that the son died when he was just half the age of his father, a different solution is obtained, and the various episodes then occur at fractional years. Under this interpretation the life of Diophantus would have been shortened to 65 and one-third years, and his son would have died at the age of 30 and two-thirds years. Out of regard for the love that Diophantus had for integers, we shall allow both him and his son the longer span of life.

3. *The Significance of Algebra.*

In order to appreciate the magnitude of the work of Diophantus one must have what is unfortunately possessed by too few, a knowledge of the content and significance of algebra. This basic mathematical subject is remembered vaguely by most people as a generalized form of arithmetic in which numbers are replaced by symbols which in their turn are combined by means of a set of rules. In the practical application of algebra, these symbols are associated with quantities subjected to assigned numerical conditions from which certain types of equations are formulated. The subject progresses thereupon to methods for the solution of the equations thus obtained.

But while this description is a rough approximation to the elements of the algebraic process, the subject develops far beyond them and embraces within its broad arms most of the principles of what has been called in modern mathematics the field of analysis. This discipline, in turn, lies at the heart of most practical applications. It is a strange and wonderful concept of the breadth of the algebraic process to reflect that the aviator, winging across the uncharted expanse of ocean, is guided in his course by means of tables computed by the same rules of analysis, which in turn were used to design the air foil that gives him buoyancy among the clouds. Remove from his control all those appliances which involved in the beginning the use of algebra and he would plummet like a rocket into the sea.

Many years after Diophantus, the astronomer Tycho Brahe, when asked to make an inaugural address before the students of the University of Copenhagen in September, 1574, took as his subject the study of mathematics. About this theme he made the following comments, which could be pondered with profit by students at any time:

"Words fail to describe the accuracy of this science, the charm, the practical advantages for all other studies and for everyday life. Ancient philosophers urged that mathematics be studied from early boyhood, either because, aside from its being most worth learning for its own sake, it distinguishes that which is true and logical in other studies, or because with its help the other forms of knowledge are acquired later with far less difficulty, since it trains and sharpens the intelligence. Moreover, judgment is improved, not making hasty decisions, but being held in suspense for a time, after well-reasoned causes have been set forth. And so the divine Plato with good reason refused admission to his school to all who were not trained in geometry, and officially posted a statement to that effect, on the ground that such students were not qualified to understand the other departments of philosophy."

The power of the algebraic method to stimulate the imagination of men is clearly seen in these words of the old astronomer. And one cannot help but reflect with a certain amount of reverence that the significance of these same words would have been understood as clearly by Archimedes as by the most advanced mathematicians of the twentieth century. For mathematics, unlike most other sciences, is timeless. The propositions of Euclid and the processes of Diophantus have suffered no changes through the centuries. They have merely been added to and built upon. Even a man as far removed as Napoleon from the professional interests of science saw clearly the implications of this science and made the famous remark: "The advancement and perfection of mathematics are intimately connected with the prosperity of the State."

Unfortunately the subjects of mathematics, in general, and algebra in particular, are difficult to master. This Diophantus knew well for in his dedication of the *Arithmetica* he makes the following easily comprehended remarks:

"Knowing, my most esteemed friend Dionysius, that you are anxious to learn how to investigate problems in numbers, I have tried, beginning from the foundations on which science is built up, to set forth to you the nature and power subsisting in numbers.

"Perhaps the subject will appear rather difficult, inasmuch as it is not yet familiar (beginners are, as a rule, too ready to despair of success); but you with the impulse of your enthusiasm and the benefit of my teaching, will find it easy to master; for eagerness to learn, when seconded by instruction, ensures rapid progress."

In order to appreciate the significance of the message which Diophantus gave to the world it is illuminating to understand where he began and to compare this with the advancement which he achieved. Algebra did not spring suddenly into being, but it grew slowly over the centuries. Unlike geometry, which appeared all at once in great perfection in the *Elements of Euclid,* algebra developed haltingly over a long period of time. Before the work of Diophantus, a few scattered problems of the simplest sort constituted the body of the subject. Among these, for example, we find puzzles relating to the division of a certain number of objects among a group of people who receive different ratios; or the knotty old problem of the pipes, in which one demands the time that would be required to fill a vessel with the flow from three pipes, one of which can fill the vessel in one day, the second in two days, and the third in three days. A few simple properties of numbers were also known, such, for example, as the proposition that the sum of successive odd numbers beginning with one is always a perfect square.

But the work of Diophantus went far beyond these simple problems. While one could not acquire the equivalent of a course in college algebra from his *Arithmetica,* one could learn the fundamentals of solving simple equations and also a method for finding the roots of certain quadratic equations. Diophantus even gave the solution of one very elementary cubic equation, thus entering a field of inquiry which marked the highest achievement of mathematics during the sixteenth century.

4. *The Theory of Integers.*

But that part of the work of Diophantus which struck real fire in the minds of those who followed him was his investigation of the properties of integers, as we have already indicated. One of the first men to renew the studies of Diophantus in this field of inquiry was the profound French mathematician, Pierre de Fermat (1601-1665), often referred to as the French discoverer of the principles of the infinitesimal calculus.

In order to see the immense influence of Diophantus stretching over this interval of fourteen centuries, let us refer briefly to one of the romantic stories which fill the pages of mathematics. Fermat had been greatly interested in the following problem proposed and solved by Diophantus, which, in his own words runs: "To divide a given square number into two squares." Such a division is at once seen in the sums: $9 + 16 = 25$, $25 + 144 = 169$, etc. Fermat wrote upon the margin of his copy of the *Arithmetica* the following statement: "On the other hand it is impossible to separate a cube into two cubes, or a biquadrate into two biquadrates, or generally any power except a square into two powers with the same exponent. I have discovered a *truly marvelous proof* of this, which however the margin is not large enough to contain."

Now the romance in this statement is found in the fact that the "marvelous" proof of Fermat's theorem has never been found, although the ingenuity of the highest mathematical genius has assailed its battlements. The problem has been the repeated subject for prize questions by learned societies and once a very substantial monetary reward was offered for its solution. Although the truth of the theorem has been verified for a large number of exponents, the general proof defies recovery.

Along with his so-called *last theorem*, the one just described, Fermat left a number of other results which were suggested to him from his perusal of the golden pages of Diophantus. These also, for the most part, were merely affirmed and the proofs omitted. But the truth of his enunciations, except in one or two instances where Fermat had made incorrect conjectures, was established by later mathematicians.

5. *Later Alexandrian Mathematicians.*

Although the name of Diophantus dominates what has been called the second Alexandrian school of mathematics, two other scholars should be mentioned as conspicuous contributors to the development of this noble subject. The first of these is Menelaus, who flourished in Alexandria around 98 A. D. This mathematician wrote a work entitled *Sphaerica*, extant in Hebrew and Arabic, but not in Greek, and another work in six books on *Chords in a Circle*, which is known to us only through a reference by Theon. Modern mathematics is indebted to Menelaus for a theorem known today under his name, which plays an important role in the theory of projective geometry. It is curious to observe that Menelaus stated his theorem for spherical, but not for plane geometry, where it assumes a simpler form.

The second Alexandrian who should be mentioned is Pappus, who, flourishing as he did around 340 A. D., was the last great mathematician of the Museum. Although inferior in genius to Euclid, Apollonius, and Archimedes, Pappus was a worthy successor to them. The only work of this great mathematician that is extant is his *Mathematical Collections,* written originally in eight books of which the first and part of the second are lost. This is a rich thesaurus of ancient mathematical results, containing not only the original work of Pappus, but also the work of his predecessors. Perhaps the most important result contained in the *Collections,* judged from modern usefulness, is found in two theorems by means of which the centers of gravity of plane areas and plane curves are related to the volumes and areas of surfaces generated by revolving the plane areas and curves about an exterior axis. Modern students of mechanics are always astonished to find the name of an ancient Greek attached to theorems which are proved most easily by the machinery of integral calculus.

Pappus also described numerous results associated with higher plane curves, and gave several solutions of the old problem of trisecting the angle. This statement may appear strange to many readers who have been taught to believe that this ancient problem is unsolvable. As the Greeks first proposed it, namely, to trisect any angle by means of straight lines and circles alone, the problem is indeed impossible, and this fact was known to Pappus and his contemporaries. But this did not preclude the invention of other methods, several of which the Alexandrian mathematician describes.

6. *The Mathematical Achievement of the Museum.*

The subject of mathematics is unfortunately too technical to permit an adequate description of all the results achieved by the Alexandrian Museum during its long history. But perhaps some appreciation of what these ancient scholars did may be more easily reached if we ask what would happen to mathematical instruction in modern universities were all knowledge about this subject deleted from the curriculum except that which was known to the Alexandrian scholars. While the course of instruction would suffer, nevertheless the following studies could be offered:

ARITHMETIC. Methods of computing, especially the approximation of square roots and the evaluation of π. The theory of irrational numbers and its relationship to the theory of integers.

ALGEBRA. The solution of linear equations and an introduction to quadratic equations. Problems in arithmetical and geometrical series.

PLANE AND SOLID GEOMETRY, through the Platonic solids.

SPHERICAL TRIGONOMETRY, including problems solved by six-place tables of chords.

CONIC SECTIONS, including the geometry of surfaces of revolution obtained from the plane sections.

DIFFERENTIAL CALCULUS, as far as the study of the tangents of conic sections, and the computation of normals and subnormals.

INTEGRAL CALCULUS, with methods for finding the areas of several plane figures such as the parabola and the spiral of Archimedes. Also the determination of the volumes of special solids of revolution.

THEORETICAL MECHANICS, including work with levers, the computation of centers of gravity, an introduction to hydrostatics, and the computation of the orbits of the planets.

THE THEORY OF INTEGERS. Indeterminate problems involving quadratic and higher conditions. The theory of perfect, amicable, triangular and other special numbers.

A modern student, surveying with too great pride the achievements of his own time, may well feel humble when he sees thus in epitome the magnificent structure of mathematics that had been erected by the hands of those ancient scholars of the Alexandrian Museum. For there are few graduates of modern colleges and universities who have progressed in their mathematical knowledge through even a part of the studies that could be offered to them from the results achieved by the mathematicians of the golden city. In this way, perhaps more than in any other, one can appraise the true glory of that accomplishment.

CHAPTER 17

HYPATIA, DAUGHTER OF THEON

1. *A New Visit to the Golden City*

MANY A LONG YEAR HAS come and gone since we first entered the golden city and walked through its busy streets. The picture of the great festival of Ptolemy Philadelphus is now hazy and indistinct in the memory of man, for nearly six and a half centuries have passed away since we sat in the stadium and saw that glorious pageant unfold before our eyes. During this vast stretch of time many things, both good and evil, have happened in the golden city. Riots and wars have swept across its walls; fire and the sword have spread death and destruction through its streets. But in more peaceful moments the sounds of the hammer and the mallet have echoed in the public squares and through the dwelling areas as men turned to the task of repairing what had been destroyed, or built new structures to delight the eyes of the citizens of Alexandria.

For a city is never quiet while men dwell within its walls. Its external aspect is ever changing, much in the way the body of a man changes on his journey through life. Sickness steals upon it and the ravages of disease become visible to the eye. Then health returns and a newer city covers up the scars which the destructive forces have left within their wake.

High time, it is, indeed, for us to revisit the streets of the golden city and see them once more before the great struggle, which was even now beginning, should sweep away the temples and the shrines. Let us, therefore, sail again into the waters of the Great Harbor and observe with our own eyes the changes that have taken place since our last visit so many centuries ago.

We have chosen for our visit a dramatic moment in the history of the golden city, and one, perhaps, that is freighted with ominous portent, although only the gods know the pattern of the future. For we arrive in Alexandria in the coolness of late afternoon on Wednesday, the twentieth day of July in the year 365. As we enter the busy harbor our eyes look again upon the great marble tower of Pharos. Gone is its youthful beauty, and its stones are gray with age, for many a buffet has it received from the stormy winds and many a shock from the flying spray. But there it still stands, the wonder of the world, a tower by day and a signal flame by night to warn the mariners of the dangers of the rocks which the cruel sea washes at its feet.

Our eyes eagerly follow the heights of the promontory of Lochias to glimpse again the shining palaces of the kings, but these have long since passed away. The peninsula from which the Ptolemies once drove in their chariots on days of state has now been given back to the sand and to the gulls from which it was originally taken. Only a few ruins attest the former glory of the kings. The adjoining area, however, is still the finest part of the city. This is known as the Brucheum, restored in the days of Cleopatra, and still possesses much of its ancient beauty. It contains official headquarters from which the Roman prefect governs the turbulent city, and other public buildings and historic shrines.

We land as in former times at a wharf behind the small island of Antirrhodus, but now our eyes are greeted by a sight that was not there on the occasion of our first visit. For to the west a mole has been built out into the harbor and on it stand the buildings of a spacious villa. This, we are informed, is the famous Timonium, at one time the home of Marc Antony, in which he whiled away the hours before his doom.

The sights that greet our eyes as we land at the wharf are familiar enough, for the harbor is still busy with the commerce of many nations. There are the great grain ships, soon to sail off across the Mediterranean with their golden stores. And there we see also smaller boats, which have come down the Nile and through Lake Mareotis with their cargoes of merchandise from the heart of Egypt. For neither the stern rule of the Roman overlords nor the bitter riots of the people can stop the stream of commerce, which pours in and out of the two great harbors of the golden city.

In spite of time and change there are many familiar sights to greet our eyes. In front of us stands the old Theater, which for all these centuries has looked out upon the same blue ocean which is itself unchanged since the days of Philadelphus. And there, also, near at hand, stands the Temple of Poseidon, for one must still placate the great god of the sea. But the area beside it to the west is different for in it we find the Roman Forum, where orators may harangue the multitude, or citizens promenade on days of festival.

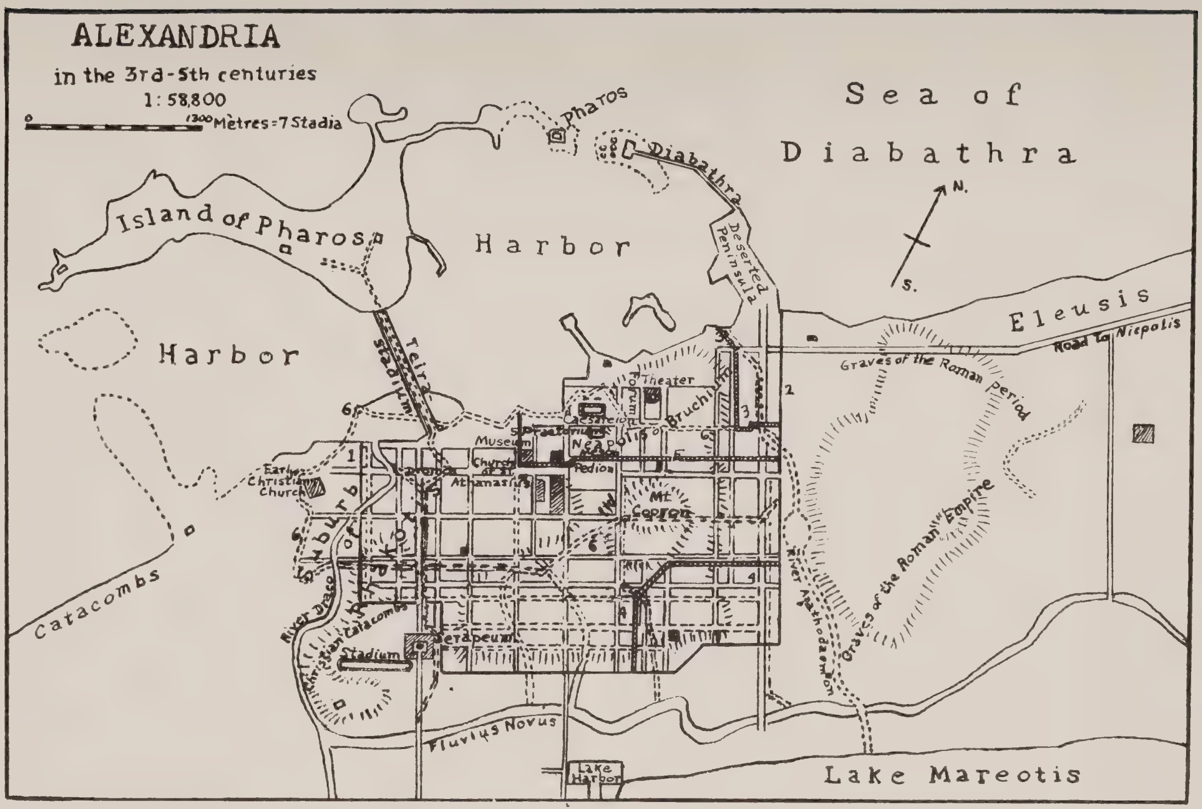
The most conspicuous change that greets our eyes is found in the great temple that fills the space west of the Forum. This is the beautiful Caesarium, a building started by Cleopatra in honor of her beloved Antony, which was finally completed by their conqueror. In front of this, on the seaward side, stand two great obelisks, brought down by Augustus from the heart of Egypt, to mark the spot of this magnificent temple and, perhaps, to guide mariners coming in from the open sea. But these lofty monuments still bear the name of the Egyptian queen and are called to this day the "Needles of Cleopatra."[1]

Despite the stress and strain of life in Alexandria through the long centuries, the great Museum still stands in its accustomed place. The current of learning during all these years has trickled through the life of the golden city, a tiny stream, to be sure, when compared with the mighty river of former days, but still a stream far from insignificant in its influence on the lives of the Alexandrians. It does great credit both to the people and to their rulers to observe that in the midst of conflict and tumult the buildings of the Museum remained unscathed and the library had been unharmed except through the accidental fire that occurred when Caesar defended the palace of the Lochias on his visit to Alexandria.

The arrangement of the principal thoroughfares also had not changed in the course of centuries, for the great Meson Pedion still runs through the heart of the city, and the lateral streets intersect it at right angles. The colonnades, which we saw in their pristine beauty, are now faded and tarnished, but the busy avenue preserves much the same appearance that it had in the beginning. But the area into which it runs to the east, which, as one will recall, was given over to merry-

---

[1] The reader does not need to be informed that one of these obelisks now stands in Central Park, New York City, and the other adorns the Thames Embankment in London.


ALEXANDRIA
in the 3rd-5th centuries
1: 58,800
0
1300 Metres = 7 Stadia
Sea of Diabathra
N.
S.
Pharos
Diabathra
Deserted Peninsula
Island of Pharos
Harbor
Harbor
Teira stadium
Eleusis
Road to Nicopolis
Graves of the Roman period
Graves of the Roman Empire
River Agathodaemon
Theater
Forum
Caesareion
Praetorium
Museum
Neapolis or Bruchium
Pedion
Church of St. Athanasius
Mt. Copron
Early Christian Church
Suburb of Rhakotis
River Draco
Christian Catacombs
Stadium
Serapeum
Catacombs
Fluvius Novus
Lake Harbor
Lake Mareotis
1
2
3
3
4
5
6
6

Map of Alexandria as it probably existed between the Third and the Fourth Centuries. The reconstruction is mainly from literary sources.

making and play, has now become a city of the dead. Therein lie the remains of the countless multitudes who have come and gone during the passing centuries. North of this necropolis runs a road to the suburb of Eleusis on the sea, and beside it to the west flows now from Lake Mareotis to the ocean a small stream called Agathodaemon.

2. *We Visit the Serapium.*

Our eyes most eagerly seek out the greatest of the old pagan monuments, the Temple of the god Serapis. For, let it be recalled, a curse was on this structure. Destroy it, said its creator, and with it you will destroy yourselves. Violate the image of the god and the heavens will fall upon you. Had the Alexandrians heeded this direful message and had the violence of the mobs flowed around, but not over, this ancient symbol?

In the dusk of early evening we hasten down the well known avenue from the area of the Emporium, and there, indeed, we find the great temple unscathed by time. Again we mount the steps to the sacred porticos and look down upon the multitudes in the busy streets. Behind us, in the darkness of the interior, lowers the image of the god. Upon the self-same throne he has sat these many centuries, stern and watchful, changing not his aspect, whether the scenes he looked upon were the peaceful concourse of the citizens, or the tumults of the mobs.

The light is fading and the cool of evening is felt upon our cheeks. But we are arrested by an ominous sight. The sun now touches the edge of the western ocean. And we have never seen in all our lives a more threatening sight. Blood red it is and the last rays, pouring through a rift in a mass of clouds above it, fill the sky with a blaze of color. But as we look the clouds seem to change their aspect until, in a moment, we see that they are molded into the very image of the god that resides in this ancient temple. And the scepter in his hand seems to point directly at the heart of the city that lies below us.

3. *Dinner with Theon.*

We had come this time to Alexandria with letters, not to the prefect of the city, who dwells in a great palace south of the Caesarium, but to a humbler man by the name of Theon. He lives, we understand, in a modest home near the Museum, so now we take our way back toward the sea. Early evening crowds are upon the streets and we elbow our way through them cautiously. For we have been warned that the policing system of the government in the city is not to be trusted fully; and those dark and wily countenances which we meet probably mask cunning rogues who will cheerfully cut our throats for the handful of sesterces in our purses.

Mingled with the crowds we also see a number of men in clerical dress, and these we judge belong to the great army of the new faith that is slowly dominating the life of the city. That their path is not entirely free of trouble, however, is made evident by the lowering glances turned toward them by some of the passersby, and by the muttered imprecations that follow their footsteps. For we have come to the golden city at that important moment when the forces of the church and the forces of the old paganism are about to lock in a last desperate struggle for supremacy. Bishop Athanasius is now once more upon his precarious seat, and while he survives, the torrents of destruction will be staid. But his frame is wasted from the great toils of his life, and there is still an ominous cloud hanging above his future.

At last we reach the humble dwelling of Theon and are greeted at the door by this remarkable man. For in Theon burns the bright spark of the older culture. He is the successor of that distinguished group of ancient scholars whom we have so often mentioned, – Euclid, Aristarchus, Archimedes, Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Claudius Ptolemy and all the others. Upon his shoulders has fallen the mantle of the Museum, and the great task of keeping alight the torch of the old tradition is in his care.

At this moment Theon is near the top of his career. His eye is bright, his step sure, and his face glows with that inner flame which is nurtured by the enthusiasm of the scholar in his avid search for truth. We are greeted with pleasure by Theon, who shares with most students an eagerness for new intellectual adventures, and he insists that we partake of his evening meal. Quarters will be found for us in the precincts of the neighboring Museum and we are to enjoy his hospitality while we sojourn in Alexandria. His wife adds an insistent invitation to that of Theon and we are finally persuaded to spend the evening in their home.

Theon, it appears, is working now upon an edition of the *Elements of Geometry*, no other than that written by Euclid so many years ago. This astonishing masterpiece of the first mathematician of Alexandria has survived the edacious tooth of time and is used as a text-book in the Museum.

"But it is difficult for my pupils to grasp," says Theon. "Only two of them seem to comprehend the theorems. The others dally over the rolls and perplex me with their questions as to its usefulness. What do they expect? Is it not enough to see the beautiful structure of geometry emerge from the simple and the obvious? To advance step by step from theorem to theorem until one reaches the very heights? How, indeed, can I compete with others who tell them how to become orators in the market place in six easy lessons?"

Alas, poor Theon! This same cry has rung down the ages, and the immortal Euclid still lies on the shelves of libraries, scanned too seldom and too lightly by those who hurry and scurry in their search for wisdom.

"And here is the immortal Ptolemy, also," says Theon. "How greatly have I struggled to expound his magic words. And here in Alexandria what matchless skies we have to read the mystery of the stars! But the heads of most are bowed down with care and other things, whence few there are who turn their faces toward the sky. Look at this wonderful passage which I found the other day, transmitted, it seems, from Hipparchus. If I am right, the passage says that the point in the sky which marks the moment when winter changes to spring is not a fixed point, but advances every year. Yet when I tell my pupils this, and they find out that this cosmic point creeps along like an old man, one small degree per century, then they shrug their shoulders and turn to other things. Poor creatures! Have they no eyes to their imaginations? Can they not see that this tiny thing must have a cause and that the cause itself lies out there among the stars?"

While Theon says these things his eyes flash and his face lights up like the day after a summer rain. Reverently we pick up the roll, which bears the sonorous title: *The Mathematical Syntaxis*, but which was known in later times as *The Almagest*, a title given to it by the Arabs. We listen attentively as the sage expounds the magic passages, the cycles and epicycles of the planets, the size of the earth, and the magnitude of the great universe. His wife, we note, sits quietly by, and if she nods, it is because she has doubtless heard these matters many times before.

"You must come with me tomorrow," says Theon, "and I shall show you the place where Ptolemy worked, and where others may work again upon these mysteries."

To listen to this young man, his imagination fired by the secrets of the great universe, his thoughts devoted to the task of extending and deepening the truths revealed by the master, is thrilling, indeed, to us and the time slips by too rapidly. But finally we make our adieus to the pleasant household, promising early on the morrow to accompany them to the shrine of Claudius Ptolemy.

As we leave the house, the wind is rising. A full moon hangs in the sky,[1] but scudding clouds that constantly drift across its face make the light variable. Shadows continually play over the roofs of the dwellings, and we grope our way cautiously through the streets leading to the Museum. The night is unusually sultry, and an ominous stillness seems to hang over the golden city. In the distance we hear the mutterings of thunder, and few stars are visible as the low-hanging clouds come drifting in from the sea.

Theon, who has accompanied us to show us the way to our quarters, urges that we hasten in order to escape the coming storm. "If I believed in portents," says the teacher, "which I do not, then I would say on such a night that the gods are planning mischief. Listen to them talking in the clouds!"

4. *A Trip to the Observatory of Claudius Ptolemy.*

But when the dawn comes at last the sun rises, a disk of burnished copper, into a cloudless sky. There is a heaviness in the air, however, that the night has not dispelled, and the city awakens listlessly to the new day. The devout are early on the streets, for had not the great Bishop Athanasius returned again to his people, and were not these days of thanksgiving?

After a late breakfast we again seek out the dwelling of Theon for the projected trip to the shrine of Ptolemy, the astronomer. Theon's wife, to our surprise, desires to accompany us, for the sultriness of the weather, or some other cause not easily discernible, has given a restlessness to our spirits which an outing may dispel.

---

[1] This is not an author's imaginary moon. The lunar ephemeris for July 20, 365 shows that the moon was full on that date.

We had not asked about the location of the shrine of the astronomer, and we are now surprised to note that our footsteps are directed toward the canal which leads from Eunostus Harbor to Lake Mareotis.

"We have a considerable trip ahead of us," says Theon, "and I thought that it might be more pleasant were we to go by boat. With so early a start we may avoid the crowds that gather in the afternoon upon our waterways."

A boat, poled by two husky Egyptians, is readily secured and we are soon upon the canal on the same trip which we took so many years ago, when we first visited the golden city. There is little change in the general course of this waterway for we must pass around the area of the Serapium and the stadium in order to enter Lake Mareotis. In the bright light of morning the massive lines of the temple of that pagan deity stand out even more impressively than in the dusk of late afternoon.

"We travel to Canopus," says Theon. "A pleasant trip on a sultry day like this, especially if a breeze comes off the ocean, as perhaps it will. You may be interested also in the life at Canopus, although the influence of the church has tended to reduce some of the excesses there."

We shall not dwell upon this trip, which takes several hours since Canopus is about fourteen miles from Alexandria. We first pole along the lake-shore to get a view of the impressive buildings in the city, and then by way of the canal which leads through pleasant farms and gardens toward the mouth of the great Nile. At luncheon time we tarry at one of the inns which line the canal and which are much patronized by the citizens of Alexandria.

By early afternoon we reach Canopus and make our way through this colorful town to the Temple of Serapis, which has stood there since the days of the first Ptolemy. Although this temple is not as impressive as the one in Alexandria, it is built along much the same lines and has the same massive appearance. It is erected at the top of a series of terraces, which we now climb to the shrine of Claudius

Ptolemy. There in a small area, which Theon shows us with much pride, the great astronomer made an observatory equipped with astrolabes and other devices for the observation of the stars.

"Note these columns here," says Theon. "Upon them you will see engraved some of his most interesting results. Perhaps you would like to have me interpret some of them."

5. *The Earthquake.*

But at this moment Theon's wife suddenly utters a cry and points toward the sea. A momentary darkness has fallen over its surface; not a breeze stirs in the sultry air. Perhaps this was but the impression that lingered afterwards, but at that moment the aspect of the world below us seemed suddenly both strange and threatening.

We have not long to wait to learn the meaning of this portent, for all at once there is a sound as of thunder, not that which you hear when clouds hang low in the sky, but deep and ominous from the earth beneath our feet. In our terror we grasp one another, but the violence of the shock throws us to the ground. The great Temple of Serapis seems to sway as if in the arms of an unseen giant, and one of the columns crashes to the ground. The terror lasts only a few moments, and we rise to our feet unharmed, though in great dismay. From our elevation we have a marvelous view of the land and the sea below us.

Theon utters a sudden cry and points to the sea. What a prodigy now unfolds before our eyes! For all at once a great basin appears where water has been before and we can see the green floor of the sea itself, whereon now rest several vessels which a moment before had been plying the calm water.

This phenomenon is soon followed by one of far more terrifying character. Far out upon the surface of the ocean we behold a vast wave rushing toward the shore. Only the distance prevents us from hearing the shrieks of the sailors who cling to the flimsy sides of their doomed vessels as this torrent of destruction rushes upon them.

The earthquake which we have just pictured was wide spread over the eastern Mediterranean, but it seems to have been especially intense in the vicinity of Alexandria. A great tidal wave rushed in upon the city carrying with it many ships from the two harbors and depositing some of them upon the roofs of the houses. According to one report fifty thousand people lost their lives in Alexandria and many habitations were swept into the sea. "The anniversary of this inundation," says Sozomen in his *Ecclesiastical History*,[1] "which they call the birthday of an earthquake, is still commemorated in Alexandria by a yearly festival; a general illumination is made throughout the city; they offer thankful prayers to God, and celebrate the day very brilliantly and piously."

Now an earthquake, as we know in our own more enlightened times, is a natural phenomenon resulting from the sudden adjustment of stresses and strains within the earth's crust. But in the Alexandria of which we write it was natural to believe that causes should be sought for in differences of religious opinion, or in the existence of some prevalent evil of the day. "It was the fashion of the times," says Gibbon, "to attribute every remarkable event to the particular will of the Deity; the alterations of nature were connected, by an invisible chain, with the moral and metaphysical opinions of the human mind; and the most sagacious divines could distinguish, according to the color of their respective prejudices, that the establishment of heresy tended to produce an earthquake; or that a deluge was the inevitable consequence of the progress of sin and error."

The significance of the events of which we have just written was doubtless not lost upon the minds of the surviving Alexandrians, for at this moment, as we have said earlier, the final struggle was beginning between the forces of the Christian church and the forces of the old paganism. And the date of the earthquake may be fittingly chosen to mark that moment when the tide turned against the older faith and the ancient gods, just as it marks also the beginning of the ebb in the fortunes of the Roman empire. "The decline of the empire," says Gibbon, "may justly be dated from the reign of Valens."

Also, about this same time, perhaps in the year 370, there was born to Theon and his wife a daughter, who was to play the leading role in the last drama of the struggle between the two forces. To the child was given the name Hypatia.

---

[1] Book vi, Chapter 2.

6. *The Fanaticism of Bishop Theophilus.*

Hypatia grew up in the shadow of the Museum. Under the tutelage of her learned father and his associates, she developed rapidly into a young lady whose beauty was exceeded only by her learning. Although she showed a penchant for philosophy, her mind readily grasped the concepts of mathematics available to her. The mysteries of Diophantus presented no obstacle to her keen faculties and later in her life she wrote commentaries not only on the work of this mathematician, but also on the geometry of Apollonius. From her father she obtained a knowledge of the astronomical discoveries of Claudius Ptolemy, and edited the *Canon* of this great astronomer.

When Hypatia was about nineteen years of age, that is to say, in the year 389, there occurred an event in Alexandria which must have made a deep impression on her mind. This was the destruction of the Serapium, and with it the great god who had watched for so many centuries over the destinies of the Alexandrians.

Upon the death in 385 of Bishop Timothy, who had succeeded Peter, the successor of Athanasius, the direction of the Alexandrian church had come into the hands of Bishop Theophilus, "the perpetual enemy of peace and virtue," says Gibbon, "a bold, bad man, whose hands were alternately polluted with gold, and with blood."

Theophilus was an individual of great energy and violent passions. History has shown few instances of a more zealous faith, on the one hand, or, on the other, of a more implacable hatred toward the objects which he had marked out for destruction. This violent man it was who first directed the attack against the honor and power of St. John Chrysostom, who had been ordained Archbishop of Constantinople in 397 against the wishes of Theophilus.

The character of the Alexandrian is revealed by the incident which led to his great hatred of Chrysostom. When the presiding archbishop died, a number of candidates were advanced and among these was Isadore, a presbyter of the church in Alexandria, who was favored by Theophilus. It seems that when Emperor Theodosius had been preparing to attack the usurper Maximus, and the issue of this struggle hung in the balance, Theophilus, with an eye to the future, sent Isidore to Constantinople with letters and gifts for the emperor. But the question was: For which emperor? So Isadore was entrusted with duplicate letters, and was instructed to present the proper one as soon as the contest had been decided. Unfortunately for the purpose of Theophilus the deceit was discovered, and Isadore returned in great alarm to Alexandria. It was in return for the discretion shown by Isidore at this critical moment that Theophilus advanced his candidacy in opposition to that of Chrysostom. So insistent was he in the matter, that only under threat of being brought to trial on a number of charges that had been preferred against him, was the bishop finally made to yield and ordain Chrysostom. But Theophilus never recovered from this insult to his dignity, and his great hatred finally accomplished the destruction of the archbishop. This unpleasant story, however, has little bearing upon the chronicles of Alexandria and will be omitted.

Into the hands of this unscrupulous bishop there now came a powerful weapon. Emperor Theodosius, himself a zealous Christian, had issued edicts ordering that the pagan temples in the Roman empire should be closed, and that pagan worship should cease. He attacked these heathen forms in their most vital point, the ritual of sacrifice. So now in the year 389 a special order came to Theophilus to carry out this hateful decree in Alexandria.

We can imagine the satisfaction which this brought to the bishop, whose intolerant and violent nature had chafed so long at the pagan worship in the city. His eye first fell upon the Temple of Dionysus, and with the help of the Roman prefect, a raid was made upon the sacred shrine. The bishop and his followers penetrated into the holy of holies, the sacred sanctum where the priests examined the viscera of the sacrifices and gave their oracles. The sacred relics, the images used in the ritual of worship, the symbols of the priests, were paraded in the streets so that all might gaze upon the holy mysteries.

The fury of the votaries was aroused by this desecration and the mob, like a great torrent, swept through the streets of Alexandria. "Destruction to the Christians! They attack the altars of our gods! Torment them! Slay them! Crucify them!" roared the multitude and tumult raged once more in Alexandria.

The savage attack on the old gods aroused also the teachers in the Museum, who probably sensed that the bigotry of the bishop, if allowed free reign, might be turned presently in their own direction.

Though their labors were in the realms of philosophy, and though they doubtless had small contact with the sacrificial worship of the temples, these teachers knew that intolerance, when once unleashed, spreads like a plague. This ancient struggle for freedom of worship, freedom of speech, freedom of thought, faced the scholars in the Museum as surely as it did the priests in the pagan temples.

Olympius, a philosopher, aroused the passions of those who wavered and exhorted them to fight for the sacred right to worship at the altars of their gods. Though greatly outnumbered, the pagans raged through the city and finally took refuge in the Temple of Serapis. From this point of vantage, and stimulated by the presence of the ancient god, they organized a valiant defense. Sallying from the temple, they made sudden attacks upon their enemies, many of whom were slain and others captured. Doubtless the defenders in their citadel were also protected by the superstitious awe of the citizens. Did not the great monument of Serapis assure the annual inundation of the Nile, and confer other gifts upon the golden city? In their fury of despair the pagans treated those whom they had captured with great cruelty. "Many of the Christians they put to the torture," says Sozomen in his *History*, "and compelled them to offer sacrifice. Those who had refused compliance were crucified, had both legs broken, or were put to death in some cruel manner."

7. *The Destruction of the Serapium.*

When the pagans could not be dislodged from their citadel, a truce was finally called until an order could be obtained from the emperor to decide the fate of the great Serapium. The edict came at last and the two factions were called together in the principal square of the city to hear it. Loud, then, were the shouts of the Christians for the doom of the god Serapis was sealed. The temple was a place of pagan worship, said the emperor, and it must be utterly destroyed. But those who had taken part in the revolt were pardoned, and most of these quickly left the city.

Theophilus began at once this work of destruction. The temple was torn down, the golden and silver vessels were melted, and all the statues and other images were broken into pieces. The destruction of the great statue of the god himself was watched with interest by the multitude, not unmixed with considerable apprehension, for who could tell whether or not the heavens themselves would fall at the first blow directed against the sacred image? The story of the demolition of the colossus has been vividly told by Gibbon as follows:[1]

"An intrepid soldier, animated by zeal, and armed with a weighty battle-axe, ascended the ladder; and even the Christian multitude expected, with some anxiety, the event of the combat. He aimed a vigorous stroke against the cheek of Serapis; the cheek fell to the ground; the thunder was silent, and both the heavens and the earth continued to preserve their accustomed order and tranquility. The victorious soldier repeated his blows; the huge idol was overthrown, and broken in pieces; and the limbs of Serapis were ignominiously dragged through the streets of Alexandria. His mangled carcass was burned in the Amphitheater, amidst the shouts of the populace; and many persons attributed their conversion to this discovery of the impotence of their tutelar deity."

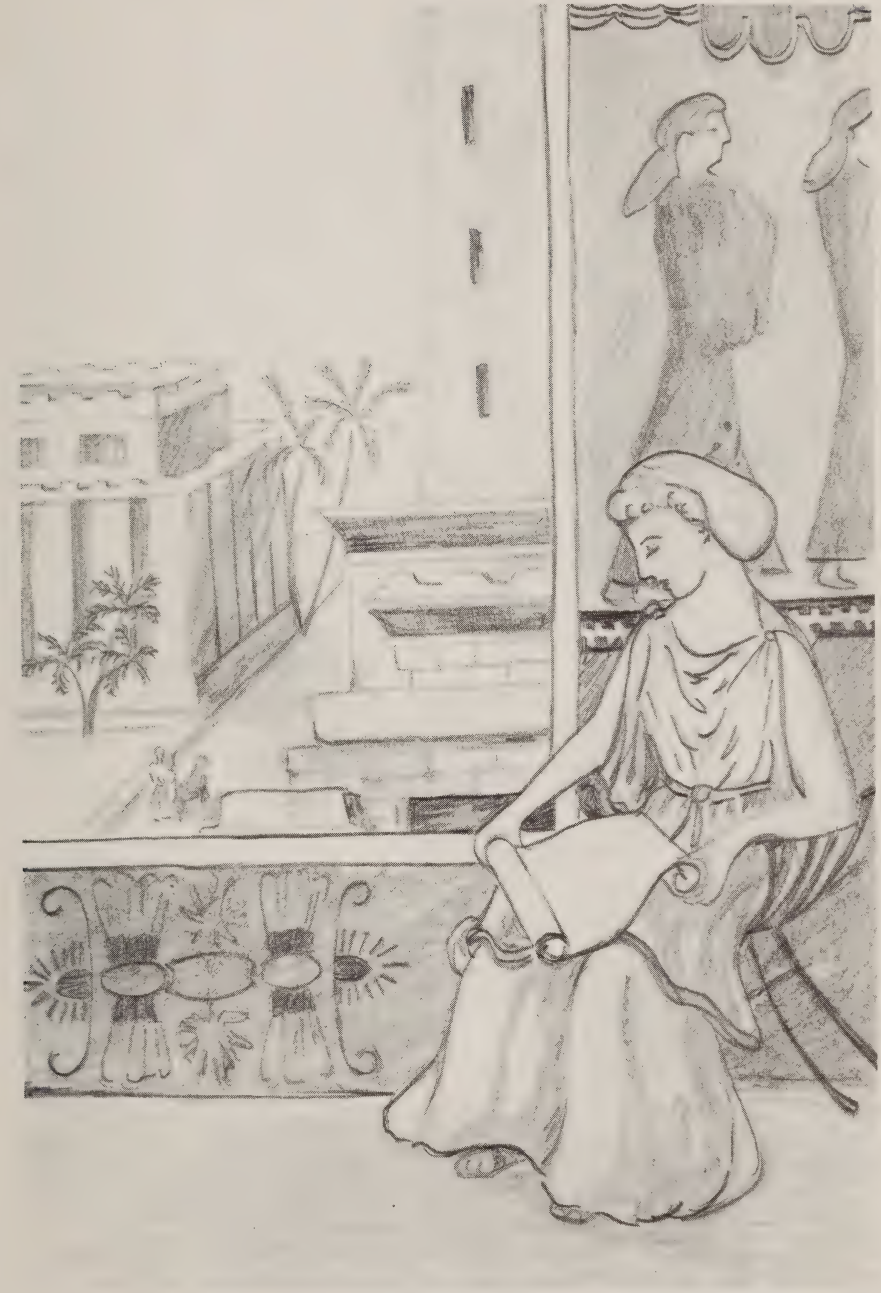
But the most unfortunate event in all this sorry tale was the destruction of the great library of the temple. These books within the shrine belonged to the pagan monument and with it they must be reduced to ashes. Was a greater sacrilege than this ever committed! For thus, in the flames of religious frenzy, perished those monuments of human genius, those golden records of the thoughts and deeds of the noblest minds that dwelt in the ancient world. Blame not the rude barbarian, the savage Arab, or the unlettered Ethiopian for this destruction of the records of ancient culture. Remember the name of that unhallowed man, Bishop Theophilus of Alexandria, the desecrator of the one thing which even the gods themselves would fear to touch.

8. *Hypatia, Defender of the Ancient Culture.*

Upon these scenes of tumult Hypatia must have looked at that impressionable age, when one sees, perhaps, most clearly the difference between good and evil things; for in youth prejudice has not had time to blind the eyes. At any rate, this beautiful and cultured young lady must sometime thereafter have taken a sacred vow to continue the old tradition in spite of persecution and danger from the jealous

---

[1] Chapter 28.



"We are allowed to visit Hypatia in one of the rooms of her dwelling overlooking the gardens of the Museum."

church; for we soon find that she had become one of the teachers in the Museum.

Our knowledge of the life of Hypatia, who now held in her firm hands the last defense of the old Greek philosophy, is much too scanty for us to know more than the broadest outlines of it. No contemporary biographer has left us the details of her life and work. Moreover, the tide of fanaticism which overwhelmed the beautiful philosopher also swept away the records, as we have just seen, which we might, perhaps, have used to reconstruct her history.

It is fortunate, however, that we have had in modern times a careful classical scholar in the person of Charles Kingsley (1819-1875), who has given us in his novel *Hypatia*, published in 1853, a dramatic account of this noble heroine. The novelist has the advantage of the historian in that he may reconstruct from his imagination those details for which current observation is wanting. He should be mindful, however, of the dictum of Polybius who says in his *Histories:*[1] "An historical author should not try to thrill his readers by such exaggerated pictures, nor should he, like a tragic poet, try to imagine the probable utterances of his characters, or reckon up all the consequences probably incidental to the occurrence with which he deals, but simply record what really happened and what really was said, however commonplace."

But in the days of Polybius the historical romance had not yet been invented. It is possible that the eye of the imagination, reading between the commonplace statements of the historian, may sometimes conceive a clearer picture of life and times than those who witnessed them too closely. On the other hand one must recognize also the ever-present danger that the prejudices of one age may color and distort the meaning of the events of another.

Although no one will seriously deny the truth of the words of Polybius, it is evident that the vivid words of Kingsley have marshalled before our eyes a more colorful retinue of people, and have painted for us a more vivid picture of the events of that dramatic period, than can be obtained from the scanty records which history has left us.

As an example of this let us become acquainted with Hypatia through the imagination of the novelist. Let him reconstruct the reputed beauty of her person, the intellectual charm which drew so many scholars to her lectures. We thus are allowed to visit her in one of the rooms of her dwelling overlooking the gardens of the Museum:

---

[1] ii, 56.

"The room was fitted up in the purest Greek style, not without an affectation of archaism, in the severe forms and subdued half-tints of the frescoes which ornamented the walls with scenes from the old myths of Athene. Yet the general effect, even under the blazing sun which poured in through the mosquito nets of the courtyard windows was one of exquisite coolness, and cleanliness, and repose. The room had neither carpet nor fireplace; and the only moveables in it were a sofa-bed, a table, and an armchair, all of such delicate and graceful forms, as may be seen on ancient vases of a far earlier period than that whereof we write. But, most probably, had any of us entered that room that morning, we should not have been able to spare a look either for the furniture, or the general effect, or the Museum gardens, or the sparkling Mediterranean beyond; but we should have agreed that the room was quite rich enough for human eyes, for the sake of one treasure which it possessed, and beside which, nothing was worth a moment's glance. For in the light arm-chair, reading a manuscript which lay on the table, sat a woman, of some five-and-twenty years, evidently the tutelary goddess of that little shrine, dressed in perfect keeping with the archaism of the chamber, in a simple snow-white Ionic robe, falling to the feet and reaching to the throat, and of that peculiar severe and graceful fashion in which the upper part of the dress falls downward again from the neck to the waist in a sort of cape, entirely hiding the outline of the bust, while it leaves the arms and the point of the shoulders bare. Her dress was entirely without ornament, except the two narrow purple stripes down the front, which marked her rank as a Roman citizen, the gold embroidered shoes upon her feet, and the gold net, which looped back, from her forehead to her neck, hair the color and gloss of which were hardly distinguishable from that of the metal itself, such as Athene herself might have envied for tint, and mass, and ripple. Her features, arms, and hands were of the severest and grandest type of old Greek beauty, at once showing everywhere the highest development of the bones, and covering them with that firm, round, ripe outline, and waxy morbidezza of skin, which the old Greeks owed to their continual use not only of the bath and muscular exercise, but also of daily unguents. There might have seemed to us too much sadness in that clear gray eye; too much self-conscious restraint in those sharp curved lips; too much affectation in the studied severity of her posture as she read, copied, as it seemed from some old vase or bas-relief. But the glorious grace and beauty of every line of face and figure would have excused, even hidden those defects, and we should have only recognized the marked resemblance to the ideal portraits of Athene which adorned every panel of the walls.

"She has lifted her eyes off her manuscript; she is looking out with kindling countenance over the gardens of the Museum; her ripe curling Greek lips, such as we never see now, even among our wives and sisters, open. She is talking to herself. Listen!

"'Yes. The statues there are broken. The libraries are plundered. The alcoves are silent. The oracles are dumb. And yet – who says that the old faith of heroes and sages is dead? The beautiful can never die. If the gods have deserted their oracles, they have not deserted the souls who aspire to them. If they have ceased to guide nations, they have not ceased to speak to their own elect. If they have cast off the vulgar herd, they have not cast off Hypatia.'"

9. *The Violence and Bigotry of Bishop Cyril.*

In the year 412 the fiery Bishop Theophilus finally relinquished his hold on the see of Alexandria, for, says Socrates, the historian, "having fallen into a lethargic state, he died on the fifteenth of October, in the ninth consulate of Honorius, and the fifth of Theodosius."

In the contest over the succession to his power, Cyril, his nephew, finally won out, in spite of the fact that the civil authority in Alexandria took sides against him. Bishop Cyril appears to have inherited many of the characteristics of his uncle as well as his prejudices. He hated the noble John Chrysostom and continued his attacks on the writings of Origen, which had been involved in the controversy between the bishops of Constantinople and Alexandria.

During his youth Cyril had spent five years in Nitria among the hermit monks of that desolate wasteland. He seems never to have broken this connection with these ascetic zealots, for at his call, this bearded and ragged army came pouring out of the desert sands into the golden city. Here, indeed, was a force suited to the needs of the savage and unbridled nature of the bishop.

Gradually in Alexandria, as also in other parts of the dying empire, the power of the church was superseding the power of the civil authority appointed by the emperor. The bishop of Alexandria, or as he was usually styled at this time, the patriarch, had intruded more and more into the political domain of the prefect. When Cyril gained control of the church, he virtually usurped a considerable part of the prerogatives of the civil authority and forced his will on secular matters that did not belong within his own right. But so great had the power of the church become, that the authority of the prefecture, then held by a man named Orestes, dared not move against the bishop with the forces under his command.

It is thus quite natural that the violent and bigoted mind of Cyril should turn to plans which would increase his authority and strengthen the already excessive powers of the church. His first move was against a sect known as the Novitians, a harmless group whose only sin appears to have been that they wished to worship God in their own way. In their relationship to the church, this sect was very much like the Puritans of later times. But the fiery Cyril smelled heresy in their teachings. Closing the churches, he confiscated all their consecrated vessels and ornaments and despoiled the leader of his possessions.

The next act of the bishop brought him into conflict with Orestes, the Roman prefect and civil governor of the city. It seems that the population of Alexandria was accustomed to amuse itself on Sunday afternoons by watching dancing exhibitions. These affairs naturally attracted large crowds of merrymakers, and since the Alexandrians were quick of temper and inclined to riot on the slightest provocation, a number of tumults occurred as a consequence of these exhibitions. Racial antipathies, as one may imagine in the varied population of Alexandria, were not absent from these public brawls. In particular, the Jews and the Christians developed a great deal of hatred for one another.

Matters finally became so bad that Orestes was obliged to call a meeting in the Theater at which he proposed to issue an edict concerning regulatory measures about the shows. Cyril's party wished naturally to know the purport of these new orders and representatives were sent to attend the meeting. Among these was a particularly offensive individual by the name of Hierax, "a teacher of the rudimentary branches of literature, and one who was a very enthusiastic listener of the bishop Cyril's sermons, and made himself conspicuous by his forwardness in applauding." When the Jews caught sight of Hierax they set up a clamor that a spy had been sent among them, and that he was there to arouse sedition. Thereupon, says Socrates, the historian, our authority, Orestes ordered Hierax to be seized and subjected to torture in the Theater.

When Cyril heard of this he at once issued orders that the Christians were to be left alone under threat of dire reprisals. The Jews retaliated by starting a tumult. Raising the cry one night that the church named after Alexander was on fire, they fell upon the Christians who ran unsuspectedly into the street, and killed and wounded not a few of them. Vast, then, was the wrath of Cyril. Paying no attention to the authority of the civil government, whose duty it was to punish the leaders of the uprising, the bishop collected a great crowd of his followers and with torch and sword they destroyed synagogues throughout the city, and drove the entire Jewish population from Alexandria. The Jewish quarter was sacked and pillaged.

"Thus," says Socrates, "the Jews who had inhabited the city from the time of Alexander the Macedonian were expelled from it, stripped of all they possessed, and dispersed some in one direction and some in another."

Orestes was filled with great indignation at this violent attack, and was much disturbed to see such a large and industrious part of the population suddenly forced to abandon the city. He thereupon wrote an angry letter to the emperor about the matter. When Cyril, who realized that he had gone too far in this persecution, made an attempt toward reconciliation, Orestes paid no attention to the outstretched hand of the bloody bishop. "And when Orestes refused to listen to friendly advances," said Socrates, "Cyril extended to him the book of gospels, believing that respect for religion would induce him to lay aside his resentment." But even this had no effect upon Orestes; thereupon Cyril developed an implacable hatred toward him.

10. *Synesius, the Pupil of Hypatia.*

At about this time another matter also attracted the attention of Bishop Cyril. Reports came to him that Hypatia, the beautiful lecturer in the Museum, was drawing crowds by her wit and eloquence. So skillfully did she expound the philosophy of Plato and Plotinus, that her classes had become the fashion of the day. Orestes, and those who followed him, were among the pupils who sat at her feet. Even Synesius, the brilliant young man of wealth and influence, who had come originally from Cyrene, and was now the bishop of Ptolemais, was numbered in the train of her enthusiastic admirers.

No account of the history of Alexandria would be complete without some mention of Synesius, whose mediating position between Neoplatonic philosophy and Christian dogma, has attracted considerable attention to him. Synesius was about the same age as Hypatia since he was born in the city of Cyrene about the year 373. His parents were people of wealth and influence and claimed descendence from the kings of Sparta. In early youth Synesius went to Alexandria with his brother Euoptius and there met Hypatia, for whom he formed a life-long attachment. In the letters which have come down to us, he always speaks of her in the highest terms, praising both her learning and her virtue.

Returning to his own home in 397 Synesius was sent as the head of an embassy to Constantinople to petition for a reduction in taxes and for other relief from the emperor Arcadius. Upon the successful conclusion of this mission, he again returned to Cyrene in 400 and spent the next ten years mainly on an estate some distance from the city. He was married at Alexandria in 403, but tragedy seems to have overtaken his family not long after, as we gather from a pathetic letter on his affliction addressed to Hypatia. He died about 414 amid the gathering clouds of conflict.

In spite of his very unorthodox belief, his dissent on matters relating to the creation of the soul, his refusal to believe in the resurrection, and his unwillingness to subscribe to the doctrine of the final destruction of the world, Synesius was persuaded to become the bishop of Ptolemais. This position he accepted with great reluctance, for he enjoyed the life of a scholar and refused to be diverted from philosophic speculation by the necessity of subscribing to theological dogma. It is hard to believe that he was actually consecrated by Bishop Theophilus himself at Alexandria, but history is very clear on this curious point.

In the history of science Synesius receives just mention, first for his reference in a letter to Hypatia of a hydroscope, a description of which, however, has not come down to us:[1] and second, for his work in alchemy, which he gave as a commentary on pseudo-Democritus. This is one of the earliest references to what was evidently something of an art in Egypt, — the formation of alloys of various kinds of metal. That there existed considerable knowledge on this subject may be inferred from the fact that after Diocletian had conquered Egypt in 297 he "treated the Egyptians harshly and cruelly; and having sought out the books written by their forefathers on the chemistry of gold and silver, burned them lest wealth should accrue to the Egyptians through this art and lest they, emboldened by riches, should in the future revolt against the Romans."[2]

11. *The Death of Hypatia.*

Supported by such noble patronage as that of Orestes and the bishop of Ptolemais, the school of Hypatia flourished. Her philosophical pronouncements must have been repeated by numerous tongues, and her wisdom discussed at many an evening meal. Then, indeed, must Bishop Cyril have gnawed his lip in bitter envy, and plotted in his evil heart how best to accomplish her destruction.

As he brooded on this problem the bishop at last bethought him of the Nitrian hermits with whom he had spent so many years in their desert dwellings, — wild and unkempt men, who would doubtless perish willingly for any project that excited their fanatical zeal. These men he had previously used in a punitive adventure against some enemy factions, and at that time he had given them arms. Now another hour had come when the powerful help of the desert monks might again be useful.

And so it happened that five hundred of the monks arrived in Alexandria. This savage army, meeting Orestes in his chariot, waylaid the prefect and called him names, saying that he was a pagan idolater. In vain Orestes protested that he was a Christian and had been baptized by no less a person than the bishop of Constantinople himself. The argument was useless for these wild men were bent on his destruction. Suddenly one of them, by name Ammonius, hurled a stone at the prefect's head, and Orestes was covered with blood from the wound which he received. His guards, fearing lest they would be stoned to death by this menacing army, took to their heels. But the citizens of Alexandria rallied to the governor's support, and in a short time had dispersed the monks. Ammonius, however, they captured, and the unfortunate man was first tortured and then put to death for his violation of the person of the Roman prefect. Thereupon, Cyril secured the body of Ammonius, and placing it in one of the churches, bestowed upon the monk the name of Thaumasius, which means Wonderful, enrolled his name among the list of martyrs, and preached a thunderous sermon over his remains.

---

[1] A hydroscope is a water clock, formed by a graduated tube from which water trickles at a regular rate, thus measuring the passage of time.

[2] Suidas on *Diocletian.*

Nothing was settled by this affair, however, for Orestes still ruled the city and crowds still attended the lectures of Hypatia at the Museum. Then came black thoughts to Bishop Cyril, for some of those around him whispered that no reconciliation was possible with the prefect until his friendship with the beautiful pagan had been broken up. It was she who kept aflame the torch of heresy with the magic of her words. There could be no peace in Alexandria while the wise and beautiful Hypatia, under a cloak of scholarship, drew such distinguished crowds to her lecture hall.

The storm that was thus gathering around the head of Hypatia, this last symbol of the old culture of the golden city, soon broke in that violent tempest of which history has given us only the most meager details. For one March day in the year 415, as Hypatia was returning home in her carriage, a mob waylaid her. The leader of this evil group was a reader named Peter and at his command the beautiful pagan was seized and dragged into the street.

Not, as in the case of Orestes, were there guards to protect Hypatia until the citizens could rally to her aid. Or perhaps these same citizens watched with indifference the violation of one whose words they vaguely understood and whose presence seemed to be a source of trouble in the golden city. However that may be, Hypatia was taken amid the shouting of the mob to the very doors of the Caesarium, which was now given over to the uses of the church. Poor lady! whose only fault was her burning love of wisdom and learning! A terrible doom was now upon her for this defense of the only thing that had made Alexandria conspicuous above all the other cities of the ancient world.

As they neared the sanctuary the howling mob, carried away by its impious frenzy, snatched the clothing from the body of Hypatia. Torn and bleeding she was thrust into the hallowed temple, and carried and hustled up the chancel steps to the very altar itself. Since our historical authority scarcely does justice to the scene that was then enacted, let us glimpse it through the eyes of the novelist:

"She shook herself free from her tormentors, and springing back, rose for one moment to her full height naked, snow-white against the dusky mass around – shame and indignation in those wide clear eyes, but not a stain of fear. With one hand she clasped her golden locks around her; the other long white arm was stretched upward toward the great still Christ appealing – and who dare say, in vain? – from man to God. Her lips were opened to speak; but the words that should have come from them reached God's ear alone; for in an instant Peter struck her down, the dark mass closed over her again ... and then wail on wail, long, wild ear-piercing, rang along the vaulted roofs, and thrilled like the trumpet of avenging angels. . ."

The body of the beautiful Hypatia was foully desecrated by the howling mob, for it was lacerated with tiles, and finally torn limb from limb. The remains were taken to a place called Cinaron, and there given to the merciful flames.

12. *The Last Days of Pagan Culture.*

With this savage and horrible scene let us close the story of Hypatia. It is a symbol, and one may well ponder its significance. That this foul act and others not less violent and evil finally brought the just opprobrium of the world upon the name of Bishop Cyril is of small consequence. Of what importance, indeed, are the words of the wise and holy Theodoret, writing twenty years later about the death of the violent bishop? "His death made those who survived him joyful; but it grieved most probably the dead; and there is just cause to fear, lest, finding his presence too troublesome, they should send him back to us."

But what concerns us most deeply in this modern age of science and learning is the vast consequence of the drama. At last the flood of the golden stream of the old Hellenistic culture had been driven underground. The spirit of inquiry into natural mysteries, the pursuit of mathematics, the study of the stars and the motions of the planets, the investigation of the causes of diseases, experimentation into the nature and properties of matter, the love of philosophical speculation, perished in the flames that consumed the body of the beautiful Hypatia.

This golden stream emerged no more, except in a few isolated and unimportant springs, until the period of the great Renaissance which began more than a thousand years after the death of the wise and illustrious pagan.

An intriguing footnote should be added to the tragedy of Hypatia. History has advanced a sardonic conjecture that the martyrdom of the beautiful pagan is the source of the story of the martyrdom of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, one of the most venerated members of the hagiology.

The facts are these. Chroniclers of the tenth century began to tell the story of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, who suffered persecution and death at the hands of either Maximinus or Maxentius near the beginning of the fourth century. Catherine, a lady of noble birth, had a persuasive tongue with which she succeeded in converting the Empress Faustina and some fifty pagan philosophers to Christian faith. For this she was condemned to die upon a spiked wheel, but was saved by the miraculous disintegration of the instrument of torture. The axe, however, accomplished what the wheel had failed to do and Catherine was ultimately enshrined among the saints.

Now the interest for us in this story is the fact that assiduous research has failed to identify Catherine with any historical personage. Eusebius tells of a high-born lady who was exiled by Maximinus because she would not yield to his lustful demands, but Rufinus says that the lady's name was Dorothea. There is no account of torture and death. Hence, since the story of Catherine does not appear in contemporary chronicles, the conjecture has been made that the martyrdom of Hypatia may have furnished later writers with the basis for their tale of the martyrdom of Catherine. What an ironic revenge is this upon the zeal of Bishop Cyril, whose violent deeds may thus have transformed Hypatia, the pagan philosopher, into Catherine, the Christian saint!

CHAPTER 18

THE END OF THE STORY

1. *The Decline of Alexandria*

THE COOL NORTHWEST wind still blows in from the sea upon the ruins of the monuments of the kings, and the ibis wades in the marshy places along the river. But the howl of the jackal is heard more often upon the desert, and the sands, driven by the breath of Lybia, drift higher and ever higher over the noble works of man. No longer toils the busy scribe in the library of the Museum, nor is the poet's lyre struck within the ancient halls. Song and laughter have vanished from the gardens and the ships are seen no more plying the placid waters of Mareotis.

For the glory that was Alexandria's is gone. The golden city, its youthful vigor spent, has bowed down beneath the weight of time. Ten centuries have come and gone since Alexander first looked upon the Isle of Pharos and saw, with prophetic vision, the magnificent city that was to be. The gold of the Ptolemies is spent, the books of the library have been reduced to ashes, the halls of the Museum are empty, and even the zealous monks, their fury quieted, have sought again the solitudes of the desert. Alexandria is dead; the sands have silted up the canals; commerce has turned aside to other routes; only a handful of peasants and fishermen, descendants of those who first dwelt in Rhacotis, have resumed their scanty livelihood on the banks of Lake Mareotis[1].

We shall now inquire into the causes which brought about the destruction of the golden city. For the force of the Christian mobs which eradicated forever the symbols of the old paganism was not the force of destruction. Rather was it the symbol of a new power in the affairs of men, not destructive in its central principle, but directed to the establishment of a new order. Differing radically from the objectives of the Alexandrian Museum, with its essential inquires into the rational principles of external nature and, violently opposed to the hedonism of the pagan kings, Christianity on its part was dedicated to constructive activity. Witness the great building activity of the Middle Ages, where the spires of many notable cathedrals pierce the skies. Witness the expressive pagentry of the church, the violent fervor of the colorful Crusades, and the oceans of ecclesiastical writings which poured from the busy quills of the monasteries. No, the force was not destructive, however deep the scars that were left upon Alexandria in the bloody struggles of the church against the resisting forces of the old paganism.

---

[1] Alexandria figures little in history after the Saracen conquest, although it supported a considerable population. During the sixteenth century, the city all but disappeared and in 1798, when Napoleon invaded Egypt, the population was about 5,000.

But the spirit of the early church, as we have tried to indicate in these chronicles, was not the spirit of science. Its look was inward toward the mysteries of the human soul, not outward toward the mysteries of the natural world. Its speculations were directed to the substance of metaphysical categories, not to the behavior of real objects under the influence of measurable forces. Were this not true, how can we account for the neglect of the discoveries of Aristarchus, Hipparchus, and Ptolemy about the mysteries of the sky, the complete failure to see the significance of the ingenious devices of Hero, the employment of number magic, instead of the profound discoveries of Archimedes and his successors?

The current, started in the Museum during the golden days of the first Ptolemies, was diverted into other channels. Speculations turned aside toward the study of the nature of God and His relationship to man. It is therefore of much more than casual interest to observe that the destruction of the golden city came about through the spreading influence of another religious current that for centuries challenged the authority of the Christian church and was turned aside finally by the heroic efforts of Charlemagne in the eighth century of our era.

2. *The Drama Begins at Mecca.*

This remarkable drama began in an obscure village in southern Arabia and its protagonist was at one time an unimportant trader and at another a robber of caravans. The name of the village was Mecca and the name of the trader was Mohammed. If we are to trace the history of the golden city to its end, it is necessary that we survey in brief some of the details of this remarkable story.

Mohammed, or Mahomet as he is often called, was born about 570 A. D. in the village of Mecca, which is situated some two camel-marches, or 45 miles, from the Red Sea about half way down the Arabian peninsula. A more unlikely place for the fountainhead of a great religious movement one would look far to find, for Mecca is situated in a sterile and forbidding valley at the foot of the desolate range of mountains which separates the coastal region from the central Arabian plateau. The country around it is arid and barren, and only the most meager population could be supported by the few crops that by assiduous cultivation were made to grow in that unfruitful region. To the eastward stretched the vast Arabian wasteland, where dwelt fierce nomadic tribes who fought for their precarious existence in the midst of the savage sands.

But the population of Mecca found another source of livelihood for the city was the center of a stream of commerce which moved from the ports of the Red Sea and from southern Arabia northward toward Medina, and thence across the great Syrian desert to the nations along the Mediterranean. Day in and day out the great caravans of camels passed through the village on their dreary journeys from the land of incense and spices to the land of emperors and gold. In this atmosphere of commerce was the boy Mohammed reared.

But in Mecca there was also a center of religious activity-since from earliest times it appears to have had a sacred area wherein was built the Temple of Mecca, called the Kaaba, or Cube, from its shape. This Temple, which has been rebuilt and repaired several times, is roughly cubical in shape, being from north to south about 36 feet, from east to west about 35 feet, and approximately 40 feet in height. In the south-east corner of this curious shrine about four feet above the ground is fixed a small black stone, which all devout Arabs believe was one of the original stones of Paradise, and that it reached the earth when Adam fell from Heaven. It is about a span in length, and its external texture suggests that it is of igneous origin, perhaps a meteorite, or a rock formed from volcanic action. According to tradition the stone is pure white within, but its exterior has turned black because of the sins of the world. In 683 this sacred relic was broken by fire and since that time it has been held together with a silver band.

This shrine apparently had existed in Mecca for many years prior to the birth of Mohammed. One of the legends about it relates to the miracle of the elephants. According to this story the viceroy of Yemen built a rival temple in order to attract the devout Arabian pilgrims to his domains, whereupon the people of Mecca sent one of their men to defile the new shrine. Great then was the anger of the viceroy and he vowed that in revenge he would destroy the holy Kaaba. Thereupon he collected a considerable army, which included a number of elephants from Ethiopia, and marched against Mecca. But when the viceroy attempted to enter the holy city the elephant on which he rode refused to advance, but knelt down and could not be persuaded to move in any direction except away from the shrine. While the army was thus halted and in a quandry as to what to do next, a large flock of birds came flying in from the direction of the seacoast, carrying small stones in their claws and beaks, which they dropped with disastrous results upon the invaders. After this visitation a great flood swept down upon the army and washed the dead bodies to the sea.

About this curious affair the *Koran* itself, that source of all Moslem wisdom, instructs us saying: "Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the masters of the elephant? Did he not make their treacherous design an occasion of drawing them into ruin; and send against them flocks of birds, which cast down upon them stones of baked clay; and render them like the leaves of corn eaten by cattle?" Since some accounts say that Mohammed was born "in the year of the elephant" we see that his early years must have been filled with the tale of this miraculous event.

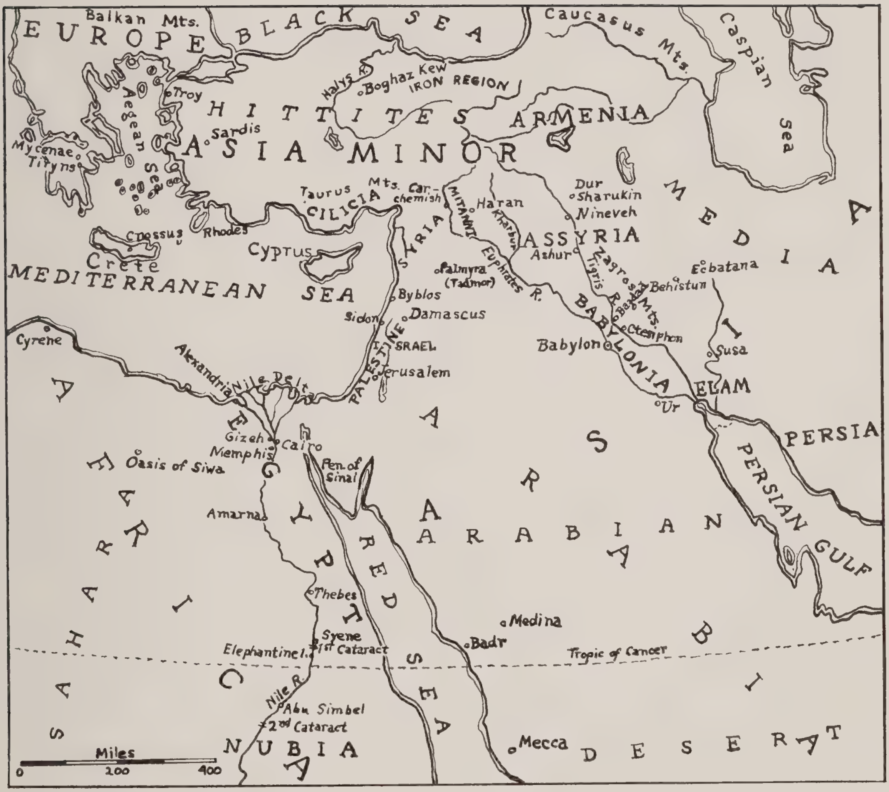
3. *The Birth of Mohammed.*

According to tradition, when Allah seeks a prophet, he first selects the best tribe, and then from this tribe the best man in it. Thus it came about that He found the desired excellence in the tribe of Koreish, one branch of which was descended from the chieftain Hashim, the great grandfather of the prophet. According to the story Hashim was a prominent and wealthy man, who sent two caravans yearly to

Yemen and Syria. Abd al Muttalib, the son of Hashim, was the grandfather of Mohammed and in his house the boy was reared. According to tradition Abd al Muttalib once had a dream in which the future greatness of Mohammed was revealed to him. The dream showed a huge tree growing out of the back of the youth, which stretched its branches to the very heavens and spread its foliage toward both the east and the west. From this miraculous tree came a light seven times brighter than the sun and all the tribes bowed down in reverence before it.

The father of the prophet was named Abdullah, who married Amina Bint Wahb a short time before he was to depart on a trip to Syria. From this journey Abdullah never returned. Mohammed was born posthumously and dwelt in the house of his grandfather. As in the case of the other gods whose stories we have recounted earlier, the birth of Mohammed was attended by prodigies. At the hour when he was born a great light shown in the heavens. The seers were aware of the event and in Medina one of them is said to have called some of the people together and announced: "Tonight the star of Ahmad has arisen proclaiming his birth." An earthquake shook the palace of the Persian king so violently that a number of the towers fell to the ground. A flood swept down the Tigris river and, bursting its banks, spread over the countryside. The sacred fire of Zoroaster, which the Persian Magi had kept lighted for a thousand years, went out, and the lake Sawa in Persia became dry. The child himself as soon as he was born, turned his eyes toward heaven and said distinctly: "God is great; there is no other God but One (Allah), and I am his prophet."

Since the climate of Mecca was unsuited to the health of the child he was sent away to one of the neighboring Bedouin tribes in the mountains and remained there for three years. The legends associated with his sojourn in the mountains are not numerous. One of them, however, gives an account of one of the curious seizures which became quite common in the later part of his life. These trances have been attributed to epilepsy, although the followers of the prophet always regarded them as evidence of divine inspiration. In his first attack, says legend, angels appeared and, removing his heart from his body, squeezed from it the one black drop of original sin with which each mortal is afflicted. His nurse, however, appears to have


Balkan Mts.
EUROPE
BLACK SEA
Caucasus Mts.
Caspian Sea
Halys R.
Boghaz Kew
IRON REGION
Troy
Aegean Sea
HITTITES
ARMENIA
Sardis
Mycenae
Tiryns
ASIA MINOR
MEDIA
Taurus Mts.
CILICIA
Carchemish
MITANNI
Haran
Khabur
Dur Sharukin
Nineveh
ASSYRIA
Cnossus
Rhodes
Crete
Cyprus
SYRIA
Ashur
Palmyra (Tadmor)
Euphrates R.
Zagros Mts.
Tigris R.
Ecbatana
Behistun
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Byblos
Sidon
Damascus
BABYLONIA
Bagdad
Ctesiphon
Susa
Cyrene
ISRAEL
PALESTINE
Jerusalem
Babylon
ELAM
Ur
Alexandria
Nile Delta
Gizeh
Cairo
Memphis
Oasis of Siwa
Pen. of Sinai
PERSIA
PERSIAN GULF
EGYPT
Amarna
ARABIAN DESERT
ARABIA
RED SEA
Thebes
Medina
Badr
Syene
1st Cataract
Elephantine I.
Tropic of Cancer
SAHARA
AFRICA
Nile R.
Abu Simbel
2nd Cataract
Mecca
NUBIA
Miles
0
200
400

The drama of the Mohammedans began in Mecca, an obscure village in Southern Arabia, and its protagonist was at one time an unimportant trader and at another a robber of caravans, and finally the founder of a great religious movement.

been frightened by the child's health, and forthwith returned him to his mother.

When Mohammed reached the age of six years his mother died, and two years later his kindly grandfather also passed away. The youth was then entrusted to the care of his uncles. One of these, Abu Taleb by name, was extensively engaged in trading and Mohammed appears to have accompanied him upon some of these journeys, visiting Syria and other distant regions in the rich and mysterious lands along the Mediterranean.

4. *Mohammed Marries Khadija.*

With this experience Mohammed himself became something of a trader and when he had reached the age of twenty-five he was entrusted with a caravan of goods which belonged to a widow of Mecca by the name of Khadija, who had inherited a considerable fortune from her late husband. This comely and estimable lady had just turned thirty-six, but she still had an eye for the handsome and stalwart young man who showed himself so much interested in her business affairs.

Since she was a lady of much wealth and Mohammed an impecunious youth with an uncertain future before him, Khadija sent a slave to him to inquire into his reasons for not marrying. When Mohammed replied that the state of his purse precluded such an adventure, the slave said that perhaps a handsome lady of considerable fortune might be able to surmount these financial difficulties. The result of this interview was that a meeting was arranged between the widow and her young steward, and shortly thereafter they were married. Despite the difference in their ages this marriage proved to be an unusually happy one, and Mohammed appears to have turned his eye toward no other woman until after the death of Khadija some twenty-five years later. The couple had two sons and four daughters, although only one of these, Fatima, survived their father.

This marriage of Mohammed was very much to his taste, and in one sense marked the beginning of his career. For now the necessity of earning a livelihood was removed and there was time for religious meditation. In matters of the spirit Mohammed had long taken an interest, for from early years he had developed a violent dislike to the forms of idolatry used in the rituals associated with the Kaaba. While these thoughts worked in his mind he gave himself more and more to speculation, and spent a great deal of time wandering over the barren hills in the neighborhood of Mecca. Nights and days together he would pass in the open country, or sheltered by one of the caves which were to be found in that rocky country. Finally this period of deep abstraction had a startling result.

5. *The Vision of Gabriel.*

One night as Mohammed lay sleeping in a cavern on Mount Hira, later to be known as the Mount of Light, a barren hill a short distance north of Mecca, he had his first revelation. This occurred on the sacred night known to the Arabs as Al Kader, or the Divine Decree, when, says the *Koran*, "the angels descend, and the spirit of Gabriel also, by the permission of their Lord, with his decrees concerning every matter."

Upon this night, Mohammed, according to his story, was aroused from his slumber by a mighty voice which thundered in his ear. Three times the voice called to him. Finally Mohammed roused himself, and there beheld an angel, who extended in his hand a silken cloth covered with writing.

"Read," said the angel, but the unlettered Mohammed was forced to confess that he had never learned this art.

"Read," repeated the angel, "in the name of thy Lord, who hath created all things; who hath created man from clots of blood. Read, by thy most beneficient Lord; who taught the use of the pen; who teacheth man that which he knoweth not."

At these words Mohammed suddenly found that he could understand what was written on the scroll, and in this miraculous manner the contents of the *Koran* were revealed to him. When he had finished the perusal of this celestial document, he was addressed by the angel who said to him: "Oh Mohammed, in very truth thou art the prophet of God! And I am his angel Gabriel."

In great agitation of mind Mohammed hastened home to his beloved wife Khadija and told her what had transpired in the cave. To his surprise she accepted his story without reserve and hailed him as a new prophet. It may be conjectured, perhaps, that the good lady, troubled by the moody conduct of her husband and disturbed by his occasional seizures, hoped that this vision might prove to be the end of his difficulties. However that may be, she comforted him by affirming her belief that the vision was not the work of evil spirits, but a genuine revelation from the divine. She thus became his first convert. The second was Ali, the son of his uncle Abu Talib, and the third his slave Zaid, whom he set free and adopted as his son.

6. *The Trials of the New Prophet.*

But the new pathway pursued by Mohammed was beset with dangers, for then, as now and always, those who break with old faiths and customs do so at their dire peril. From the members of his own tribe, the Koreish, in particular, he was first met with scoffing scepticism and then bitter hatred as the number of his following grew. Wrong was he, said they, to scorn the old forms of worship and to speak so harshly against the idolatry required by the ritual of the Kaaba.

Among his most violent opponents was his own uncle, Abu Lahab, a man of considerable power and influence in Mecca. Public opinion soon became so great against Mohammed that he and his disciples were forced to hold their meetings in private. But even this did not protect them, for on one occasion, when they were assembled in a cave near Mecca, a mob broke in upon them and in the ensuing brawl one of the assailants was injured. This was the first case in which blood was shed in the cause of the new faith.

During these early travails the faith and reverence of the little band of converts was strengthened by new revelations. For the *Koran,* the holy book in which they were finally recorded, came out of the infinite not in a single piece, but in a series of pronouncements. When these were written down in later days a very uneven, disconnected, and incoherent document was the result. Through it runs the main theme: "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his Prophet," from which comes the word Islam, which in Arabic means "Obedience to the will of God." The teachings for the most part are in accord with Christian tenets, with one notable exception which we shall discuss later, – the blessedness of the sword in advancing the faith of the prophet.

An oriental pattern is woven into much of the fabric of the *Koran,* since angels, genii, and other eastern spirits play conspicuous roles in its mysteries. The rewards of the faithful in paradise, though partly spiritual, were of a much more practical and earthly nature. "This is the description of paradise, which is promised to the pious," says the *Koran.* "It is watered by rivers; its food is perpetual, and its shade also." But if we read further, we find that more extravagant promises are made: "Therein are rivers of incorruptible water; and rivers of milk, the taste whereof changeth not; and rivers of wine, pleasant unto those who drink; and rivers of clear honey; and therein shall they have plenty of all kinds of fruit; and pardon from their Lord." But one is not wise if he does not continue to the end of the volume for to this glorious land, reserved for the faithful, is finally added the last and most acceptable attraction: "beauteous damsels, having complexions like rubies and pearls."

Some of the passages in the *Koran* rise to heights of beauty, as for example, the description of the last day, "when the sun shall be covered with darkness, and when the stars shall fall, and when the mountains shall be made to pass away," or in the following passage from the second chapter: "Now in the creation of heaven and earth, and the vicissitude of night and day, and in the ships which saileth in the sea, laden with what is profitable for mankind, and in the rain which God sendeth from heaven, quickening thereby the dead earth, and replenishing it with many cattle, and in the change of the wind, and the clouds that are compelled to do service between heaven and earth, are signs to people of wisdom."

In the fourth year of his mission, Mohammed finally decided to give his ideas publically. But the meeting which was convened to hear the words of the prophet broke up in disorder, after his uncle Abu Lahab had reviled him and Mohammed had replied by laying a curse upon his head.

A second meeting was then held, which was attended by menacing hostility from some, but by increasing enthusiasm on the part of others. At about this time Mohammed added to the roll of his followers converts who played important parts in the later development of the movement. One of these was Abu Becker, the son of one of the wealthy men of Mecca, a person of lofty spirit and high courage. The other was a young man named Amru, who had no social standing in the city since his mother was a notorious courtesan. Although his paternity was in doubt he was given the name of Amru ibn el Aass, that is to say, Amru, the son of Aass. How could one possibly believe that this youth of ignoble birth, dwelling in an obscure city in distant Arabia, was by the mysterious will of destiny to be chosen at last to play the final role in the great drama of Alexandria? This is by no means the least of the amazing things that happened in the long history of the golden city.

7. *The Demand for Miracles.*

Matters continued to go badly with the new prophet in Mecca, for the powerful men in the city looked with great disfavor on the increasing entourage of Mohammed. With scorn and ridicule they attacked both his teaching and his assumption of the role of the prophet.

"Where," they demanded, "are the miracles which a true leader of a new faith can perform?"

In vain poor Mohammed replied that the existence of the *Koran* itself was miracle enough. "Verily," said he, "if men and genii were purposely assembled, that they might produce a book like this *Koran*, they could not produce one like unto it, although the one of them assisted the other."

But in spite of this simple statement of Mohammed, more was demanded of him. Hence his disciples appear to have created the desired miracles, or at any rate, they have created the proper stories. At one time a dove is said to have settled on the shoulder of the prophet and appeared to be giving a message into his ear. At another time Mohammed called a bull to him and from its horns picked a scroll which contained a section of the *Koran*. More fantastic than these tales was that of the miracle of the moon, which, when summoned by Mohammed, "full-orbed, though but five days old, leaped from the firmament, and bounding through the air, alighted on the top of the Kaaba, after having encircled it by seven distinct revolutions."

Since the continuous preaching of Mohammed against idolatry was beginning to affect the revenue of the Kaaba, the members of the tribe of Koreish instituted a more systematic persecution of the followers of the new prophet. Unless one were connected by high position in the city, his life became endangered. Mohammed himself was attacked in the Kaaba, and his faithful lieutenant, Abu Becker, was injured in the resulting struggle.

Let us note here again the curious pattern that seems to run through all history. Persecution always follows the birth of new religious movements. Intolerance appears like a black thread through the long story of mankind. No nation and no race is free from it. Arabs, Jews, Greeks, Romans, Spaniards, Englishmen, and even Americans, taught from the cradle that man's constitutional right is religious freedom, have fought with insult, blows, and even worse, a new prophet and his message. It is curious, indeed, that man's relationship with the metaphysical world should be the center of the most bloody deeds in history; that propositions unproved and unprovable should generate in men their most frenzied activity and carry them forward to almost inconceivable adventure.

The next act in the drama of Mohammed was flight from persecution, — the same act that centuries later gave impetus to the colonization of the North American continent. A small band of Mohammed's devout followers, led by Othman ibn Affan, who played a conspicuous role in the later history of Islam, finally fled to the seacoast and there obtained passage on a boat bound for Ethiopia. Among the natives of that country the new religion spread rapidly, and the African province became an important center of the Mohammedan faith, a position which it has maintained to this very day.

8. *The Conversion of Omar.*

In the meantime the persecutions of Mohammed's remaining followers continued with increasing severity until the prophet himself considered flight. On one of these encounters Abu Jahl, a member of the Koreish tribe, insulted Mohammed and subjected him to personal violence. This was resented by Hamza, an uncle of Mohammed, who struck Abu Jahl a blow on the head which injured him severely. Thereupon the fierce old Arab decided that the time had come to eliminate Mohammed altogether and he sent against him his nephew named Omar ibn al Khattab.

This young man was well suited by nature for the bloody deed, since he possessed a magnificent physique, great strength, and exceptional courage. With such an enemy against him the fate of Mohammed certainly seemed settled. But unfortunately for the plans of the bitter uncle, this young man, on the way to execute his mission, stopped at the house of his sister and found her and her husband reading the *Koran.* In great rage he would have slain the husband, but his sister boldly asked him why he should commit this act of violence when their only fault was that of believing in the true God. "For there is no God but Allah," she said, "and Mohammed is his prophet."

Intrigued by this statement and the fervor of his sister, Omar paused and asked to see the *Koran.* But his sister would not put the sacred scroll in his hands until he had washed them. Then with deep earnestness the young man began to read and as he read he became more and more excited, especially when he beheld the rewards which were offered to the faithful on the day of judgment. His anger abated, his mission forgotten, Omar humbly sought the dwelling of the prophet and enrolled himself among the followers of the new faith.

In the tenth year of Mohammed's preaching in Mecca, the year 620, two grievous events happened to the prophet. His uncle died, old Abu Taleb, who had for so many years protected him in Mecca. A few days later his beloved wife Khadija also passed away. Thus at one blow he was bereft of the two persons closest to him, those, indeed, who had sustained him to the last in the desperate adventure on which he had embarked. Toward his wife, despite the disparity in their years, he had maintained the greatest affection and, although polygamy was the custom in Arabia, he had brought no rival into his house.

By the law of the *Koran* four wives were allowed to the followers of the new faith. But the prophet himself had no such limitations, since his position, as the mediary between heaven and earth, certainly gave him special privilege in this strictly worldly matter. Khadija had not been in her grave more than a month, however, before Mohammed began to look about him for solace. His eye fell upon Ayesha, the beautiful daughter of his faithful follower Abu Becker. It is possible, however, that there was more of political consideration in this choice than otherwise, for Ayesha was then not more than seven years of age, and the actual nuptials were postponed for two years. In the meantime, Mohammed also married Sawda, a young widow who had been the nurse of his daughter Fatima. It is a curious point in the history of the prophet, that the two wives who held his deepest affection were Khadija, many years his senior, and Ayesha, who became his wife when she was scarcely one-fourth his age.

9. *The Hegira from Mecca.*

Since troubles were now increasing for the prophet and his faithful band, Mohammed saw finally that flight was the only solution. His eye then turned toward Medina, a city about 270 miles due north of Mecca, whence a considerable number of his followers had already gone. The departure was finally accelerated by a plot against his life, which was arranged by his implacable foe, Abu Jahl. Alarmed at the spread of the new faith Abu Sofian, governor of the city, called a meeting of a few of the important men to see what could be done to stem the tide.

Some proposed that Mohammed should be banished, others that he be placed in a dungeon and given food until he died. But objections were raised to these proposals, some say by a mysterious stranger identified, so legend avers, with no less a personage than the devil himself. Then finally Abu Jahl spoke up and said what was probably in the minds of all of them, that the surest way to remove the menace from Mecca was by means of the sword. To death there is no answer, argued the savage old Arab, and if each man present would thrust his weapon into the body of Mohammed, then his relatives and followers could not single out a particular person for their vengeance.

The plans for the bloody deed were soon fomented and the murderers approached stealthily by night the dwelling of the prophet. Peering through a hole in the door they beheld a sleeping form on Mohammed's bed and congratulated themselves that the end of all their troubles was at hand. But when they burst into the room the sleeper suddenly started up and they were both astonished and enraged to behold his son-in-law, Ali, instead of the prophet. In the confusion of the moment the conspirators did not molest Ali, who quietly left the dwelling and escaped into the night.

Mohammed, it appears, had been warned of the conspiracy against him, and had hastily departed to the home of his friend Abu Becker. Legends of course have been built up around this great event in the history of Islam. The most prominent of these says that the machinations of the devil, that wily stranger who had guided the deliberations of the conspirators, were thwarted by the angel Gabriel, and Mohammed was warned of his impending doom by this ever-watchful spirit. But whatever the mode of warning may have been, Mohammed and his faithful Abu Becker lost no time in departing from Mecca. This departure, which occurred on the night of June 21, 622, is called the *Hegira,* that is to say, *the Flight of Mohammed,* and the date is sacred in the history of Islam. From it, or more precisely, from the first day of the Arabian month preceding the flight, the Mohammedan calendar begins.

This curious calendar is in some respects simpler than that used by the Christian world, for its year consists of twelve lunar months without any corrections for the solar year. Since the lunar year is about eleven days shorter than the solar year we thus find that the months retrograde with respect to the seasons. Hence it comes about that the pilgrims in their annual march to Mecca, let us say during the pilgrimage month of Dulheggia, the last of the Arabian year, must at certain times set out with heavy robes to keep away the winter winds and at others make the journey clad in little more than that which nature gave them. The conversion of a date from A. H. (*Anno Hegirae*) to A. D. (*Anno Domini*), or conversely, is a problem of unusual complexity and may be solved most readily by consultation of tables which have been prepared for this purpose. The Mohammedan year 1361 A. H. begins on January 19, 1942 A. D. and ends on Thursday, January 7, 1943. But by 1955 A. D. the beginning of the Mohammedan year has retrograded to August 20.

Mohammed and Abu Becker started out on their long journey toward Medina, but before day broke they decided to take refuge in a cave on Mount Thor, a short distance from Mecca. Meanwhile in the city the wrath of the conspirators knew no bounds and they offered a hundred camels to anyone who would bring the prophet to them dead or alive. This reward at once stimulated the pursuit and a posse was hastily recruited to overtake the fugitive. When Abu Becker, peering out from their hiding place, saw the band of their pursuers approaching he was much alarmed and asked Mohammed what they should do in this emergency since there were only two of them against so many. But the prophet was unperturbed and replied to Abu Becker: "You have forgotten another, for God is with us."

Many legends have grown up about the Hegira. One says that the angel Gabriel appeared to the pursuers and gave them false information about the direction of flight of the prophet. Another says that a tree grew up miraculously before the cave, and that spiders wove a web across its mouth, which prevented an examination of the interior. Be that as it may, the search of the avenging army was in vain and Mohammed and his companion finally reached Medina unscathed.

10. *Reception at Medina.*

Here the prophet found a large body of his converts awaiting him and he was conducted into the city with all the pomp and ceremony of a conquering hero. Thus we see once more the truth of the old adage that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country."

Mohammed rapidly gained prestige and influence in Medina. He erected a mosque on a burying ground, which was shaded by date palms. The trees were cut down to make room for the temple and the bodies of the dead were removed to another resting place. Numerous additions were made to this growing list of converts, and many of these were drawn from the Christian population of the city. But the Jewish inhabitants remained aloof and hostile to the new prophet.

At this time Mohammed made a fateful addition to his articles of faith. This was his precept concerning the use of the sword. Let us contrast the words of Christ with those of Mohammed. "Put up again thy sword into his place," said the Prince of Peace, "for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." But in the *Koran* we read orders of a different kind: "Fight for the religion of God against those who fight against you; but transgress not by attacking them first, for God loveth not the transgressors. And kill them wherever ye find them, and turn them out of that whereof they have dispossessed you; for temptation to idolatry is more grievous than slaughter; yet fight not against them in the holy temple, until they attack you therein; but if they attack you, slay them there. This shall be the reward of infidels."

Here, indeed, was a doctrine that reached the inner heart of the fierce Arab. Here was the prophet's call to battle, and what could be more acceptable than this? But lest there should be some who quailed before the deadly scimitar and the flashing sword, another note of comfort was added. "No soul can die unless by the permission of

God," says the prophet, "according to what is written in the book containing the determination of things." Fear not, therefore, to join in battle for unless your time has come, then nothing in heaven or earth can harm you; but if your fatal hour has truly arrived, then not even God himself can save you from your doom. By these remarkable precepts, and the promise of an alluring paradise, Mohammed generated in the breasts of his followers that fanatical zeal before which the great legions of the Roman empire were to prove powerless.

11. *The Battle of Beder.*

The first test of the new sanction was not long in coming. For now the followers of the prophet became eager to fall upon the infidels, and particularly those who might be passing in the vicinity of Medina accompanied by richly-laden camels. A few unsatisfactory forays were attempted, and then word came to Mohammed that a caravan of a thousand camels was traveling from Syria to Mecca under the leadership of his arch enemy Abu Sofian, who was accompanied by a troop of thirty horsemen.

Here was a heaven-sent opportunity to avenge himself upon the hateful tribe of Koreish, and at the same time to acquire some sorely-needed wealth. The prophet thereupon gathered together a band of 314 of his followers andplanned to attack the caravan. But Abu Sofian got wind of the danger, and he immediately sent an urgent appeal to Mecca for help. While this was coming the able leader skillfully maneuvered his caravan and succeeded in getting it well out of danger. Thereupon he countermanded his orders for help. But the forces from Mecca disregarded these since they were eager to annihilate Mohammed before he had grown any stronger. Moreover, the advantage was all on their side, for they had one hundred horsemen and seven hundred camels to oppose the small force under the inexperienced command of Mohammed. The two armies, if such small bands can be so designated, met one another in a narrow valley, watered by a brook named Beder and the resulting struggle has been called the Battle of Beder.

In spite of their numerical inferiority, the followers of Mohammed fought with that remarkable zeal which became so notorious on larger battlefields during the following years. Perhaps, also, the troops from

Mecca were worn out from their long and hasty march. But whatever the reason, the forces under Mohammed won a complete and overwhelming victory. Old Abu Jahl, who had so fiercely sought the life of Mohammed and in his zeal had precipitated the Hegira, was slain and his troops fled back toward Mecca completely routed. The casualties were seventy slain and seventy captured on the side of the enemy. But only forty Moslems were numbered among the dead.

Insignificant as the Battle of Beder was both in the number engaged and in the casualties, the engagement, nevertheless, was one of the most important ever fought. For it marked the beginning of the great Moslem movement, which was to change the destiny of the world. For the first time the followers of Mohammed had engaged in a battle; they had tasted blood; the infidels had fled in disorder before their arms. The world stood beckoning to them and their prophet commanded that the new faith be carried to all mankind. This mission they could execute with the persuasion of the sword, if more peaceful means should fail. The Battle of Beder, rendered significant from its consequences, occurred on January 8, 624.

10. *The March of Islam.*

The rest of the adventures of Mohammed are not essential to our story. We have carried him to the crest of that tide "which, taken at the full, leads on to fortune." Errors he committed and reverses he suffered, but these were only trivial events in the great march of the Saracens,[1] which had begun.

The prophet first turned his face toward Jerusalem as the central shrine of the new faith, but when the Jews failed to follow this invitation, he bade his disciples pray to their first shrine, the holy Kaaba in the city of Mecca. A struggle naturally ensued to add this holy precinct to the physical domination of the prophet, and as one may well believe, the zeal of the devout was fully equal to the task. Although the first pitched battle in the rich plain of Uhud, about five miles from Medina, was a victory for the forces of Mecca, and although later by the use of trench warfare, Mohammed barely saved the city of Medina from capture in the famous Battle of the Moat, these were but minor incidents in the onward march of the new faith. Scarcely eight years after the Hegira, Mohammed finally succeeded in capturing Mecca, many of whose citizens had already deserted to him.

---

[1] The word *Saracen* originally meant an Arab. It was later applied to the followers of Mohammed.

Since the movement was now sweeping forward with irresistible force and fury, Mohammed began to dream of a world mission. His eye fell naturally upon Syria and the rich lands to the north. In order to explore the possibilities provided by the channels of diplomacy before invoking the methods of the sword, Mohammed sent missions to various rulers of the provinces which he desired to control. The scope of his ambitions is seen from the fact that he had the boldness to address letters both to Heraclius, the Roman emperor at Constantinople, and to Chosroës II, king of Persia, whose own victories had been so extensive that he was called by his subjects Parveez, or the Conqueror. So remarkable were these conquests that he had even driven the Roman legions out of Egypt and had occupied the city of Alexandria for a period of about ten years.

Heraclius is said to have received the Saracen envoy with kindness. Doubtless, however, he read with considerable amusement and surprise, the invitation from this obscure Arab asking him to renounce his Christian belief and join the faith of the Moslem prophet.

But the mission to the haughty Persian king was of another sort. When Chosroës read the salutation: "In the name of the most merciful God, Mohammed, son of Abdallah, and apostle of God, to Chosroës, king of Persia," the monarch flew into a rage. He instantly tore the letter into pieces and demanded to know how one who was his slave dared to place his own name ahead of the king. He then dispatched a letter to his viceroy in Yemen which said in effect: "I have learned that there is a madman in Medina, who pretends that he is a prophet. Either restore him to his senses or send me his head." When the news concerning the fate of his letter reached Mohammed, the prophet showed rare insight into the mystery of the future, for he is said to have remarked: "So, indeed, shall Allah tear the empire of the king into pieces."

13. *Chosroës, King of Persia.*

Since Chosroës also belongs to the story of Alexandria let us digress a moment to survey this haughty monarch. We see him at the height of his glory and power, when his army not only had vanquished in Asia Minor the legions of the badly shaken Roman empire, but had advanced even into Egypt and stood before the walls of Alexandria. This was in the year 616, six years before the Hegira of Mohammed and the same number of years after the accession of Emperor Heraclius to the tottering throne of the Roman empire. After a siege of several months, Alexandria was finally taken, but not, however, until the Persian forces had been introduced treacherously by night within the walls. As the Persian conquerors entered the city, the prefect, Niketas, and the patriarch escaped by sea, doubtless realizing that nothing could be done to hold the invaders at bay without help from Heraclius.

History tells us little about this occupation, which lasted a scant ten years, and was finally terminated by the unexpected and decisive victories of Heraclius in Syria and Mesopotamia. There was the usual sack of the city and the massacre of the citizens, but no permanent influence was left by this temporary occupation.

Chosroës, the conqueror, is memorable in the history of Persia for the magnificence of his palaces, for the tender and enduring affection that he held for his favorite wife, the celebrated Shireen, and for the vast extent of his empire, which exceeded that of any predecessor since the time of Darius, nearly ten centuries before him.

His palaces in the vicinity of the capitol city of Ctesiphon, which was situated on the left bank of the Tigris river about twenty-five miles below Bagdad, surpassed in luxury and adornment anything recorded in oriental history. Visions of marble splendor, these magnificent buildings were adorned with every architectural form that artistic imagination and lavish wealth could furnish. The interiors were fashioned into dreams of oriental splendor. Rich rugs, woven with pearls and other precious stones, covered the spacious rooms, of which many were more than four hundred feet in length. Silken drapes hung from the ceilings and the walls were adorned with paintings and statuary gathered from every land into which the armies of the king had marched.

The grounds around these splendid palaces, especially those of his favorite residence of Dastagerd, about sixty-five miles north of Ctesiphon, were vast parks in which wandered flocks and herds. Peacocks, pheasants, and other birds adorned the spacious lawns. In special areas wild game was allowed to run at large, and sometimes even tigers and lions were turned loose to provide proper sport for the king's hunting.

A vast retinue of animals and servants was necessary to maintain these great residences. Thus the entourage at Dastagerd, we are told, included nearly a thousand elephants, twelve thousand two-humped camels, eight thousand dromedaries, and fifty thousand horses, asses, and mules. Some twelve thousand servants were required to manage the grounds and the buildings, and six thousand guards were continually employed. Not the least spectacular feature of this remarkable court of the Persian king was his harem of three thousand concubines.

This, then, was the magnificent monarch to whom the ragged prophet of Medina dared to address his invitation to renounce the fire-worship of the Zoroastrians and become one of his followers. Do we wonder that the haughty Chosroës marveled at the arrogance of the message and believed that its sender must be touched with madness?

History, indeed, has few more remarkable facts to record than the conquest of Persia by the followers of Mohammed. In 633, just seven years after the death of Chosroës, the first squadrons of the Saracens invaded the Persian domains; four years later (637) the battle of Kadisiya put Ctesiphon at the mercy of the invaders, and four years after that the conquest had been completed.

Finally Mohammed died in the eleventh year of the Hegira and in the year 632 of the Christian era at the age of 62. The prophet of Allah passed away, after an illness of ten days, surrounded by his friends and family and in the arms of his favorite wife Ayesha. Like any other mortal the head of the faith of Islam succumbed to the ravages of fever and departed, we hope, to that same paradise which he had pictured in such attractive detail to his disciples.

14. *The Successors of Mohammed.*

But Mohammed's work had just begun, for there remained the gigantic task of carrying the mission of the faithful into neighboring lands. At a meeting of the chieftains immediately following the death of the prophet, the question of the succession was debated. Four names naturally presented themselves, that of Abu Becker, the oldest and most trusted friend of the prophet, Omar, whose conversion we have earlier recorded, Othman, who had led the first band of exiles into Ethiopia, and Ali, his son-in-law and second convert to the faith. Although the choice properly fell upon Abu Becker, who thus became the first caliph of Islam, it is interesting to observe that these four men successively held the supreme power, for Abu Becker ruled from 632 to 634, Omar from 634 to 644, Othman from 644 to 656, and Ali from 656 to 661.

The adventures of these leaders we cannot tell here for that belongs to another story. But the zeal inspired by Mohammed worked through them and sustained them in the ebb and flow of their fortunes. Like a torrent of unpent waters, the Saracens poured out upon the plains of Syria and Iraque. First the Syrian city of Bosra fell to their arms under the sledge-hammer blows of the inspired chieftain Khaled, who had first won renown by the caravans of booty which he had sent to Medina from his Persian conquests. Then Damascus fell after the Roman legions, dispatched to its aid by the harassed Emperor Heraclius, had been disastrously defeated. Then Baalbec, one of the proudest cities of ancient Syria, yielded to the conquering arms of the fanatical followers of the prophet. The siege and capture of Jerusalem followed and Caliph Omar himself entered the city, not, however, with the pomp and glitter of a Roman conqueror, but on foot with a staff in his hand, and clad in a worn garment of coarse woolen cloth patched with sheepskin.

16. *The Conquest of Egypt by Amru.*

And now the eyes of the conquering Muslems were turned toward Egypt and the golden city, whose prefect must have sent frantic appeals to Emperor Heraclius as the news came to him about the astonishing conquests of the Saracen invaders. But the emperor, in those dark days, was powerless to help, for the government had been forced to flee from Antioch and no powers at his command were able to stop the onrush of the hosts who seemed so recklessly to forego the pleasures of the material world for the promises of paradise.

The conquest of Egypt was assigned by Omar to his friend and comrade, the base-born son of Mecca. This zealous follower of the prophet had proved himself to be a general of much shrewdness in the campaign in Palestine, as well as a leader of great personal bravery. Because of the stories of his prowess Omar summoned the chieftain into his presence and asked to see the scimitar with which he had removed so many infidels from the path of the faithful. But when Amru bared the weapon he remarked simply: "Alas! the sword itself, without the arm of the master, is neither sharper nor more weighty than the sword of Pharezdak the poet."

But after Amru and his troops had been dispatched toward Egypt early in the year 638 doubts seemed to assail Omar and his counselors as to the wisdom of so rash an adventure. Accordingly a messenger was dispatched with a letter which stated: "If this epistle shall reach you while you are still in Syria, return without delay; but if it finds you already on Egyptian soil, then march on with the blessing of Allah, and depend upon the succor of your brothern." The wily Amru received the letter while he was still in Syria, but perhaps forewarned as to its contents, he did not break the seal until he had already crossed the border of Egypt. Thereupon he called his chiefs together, and read the message to them. "I shall obey the will of the Caliph," he said. "We shall advance under the direction of Allah."

The age-old path of conquering armies was followed by the Saracens. First Pelusium, the gateway to Egypt, fell to their arms. They then advanced up the Nile to Memphis, where the first serious barrier impeded their progress, for Memphis was strongly fortified and substantially garrisoned. A protracted siege of seven months was required for the final reduction of this fortress and it might not even then have been successful had it not been for treacherous aid given them by Mokaukas, the governor. This man, an Egyptian by birth and an enemy of the Greeks, had shown himself more interested in his own fortunes than those of the emperor when the Persians had invaded Egypt some twenty-two years earlier. During the intervening years he had held his power more from the disordered condition of the empire than from the respect and trust of Heraclius.

16. *The Capture of Alexandria.*

Mokaukas agreed to give the Saracens whatever aid they needed, repair the roads and bridges between Memphis and Alexandria, and otherwise assist their march, provided they in their turn would exterminate the Greeks in Egypt, and give him burial on his death in the church of St. John in Alexandria. To these terms Amru readily agreed.

As soon as Memphis had fallen to the Moslems, the great city of Alexandria lay before them. In front of its massive walls the army of the faithful rested and once more the citizens viewed from their ramparts the camp fires of another invading army. But the force of Amru was small for the conquest of so large and well defended a city; the natural protections of the sea on one side and Lake Mareotis on the other made the walls particularly difficult to approach.

One incident of the siege of the golden city has been told by the chroniclers. It appears that in one of the assaults on the city, Amru, his faithful servent Werden, and one of his generals Moslemah, fell into the hands of the enemy. When they were taken before the prefect, he demanded to know why the Saracens were beleaguering the city and overrunning Egypt. To this question Amru returned a haughty answer, giving the usual formula of Islam, that they had come to make converts of the people or else add them to their list of tributaries. At this reply the governor believed that he had captured one of the leaders, and summarily ordered that the head of the bold Arab be struck off. But just as the soldier raised his axe to execute the command, Werden, in order to deceive the governor as to the true position of Amru among the Saracens, struck his master in the face and demanded to know why one so base-born and contemptible should use such bold language to his betters.

The order to execute Amru was then withdrawn, and Moslemah hastily concocted a story to the effect that orders had come from Caliph Omar to raise the siege and that they were ambassadors on this mission. The credulous Greek appeared then to have swallowed this story and Amru and his companions were returned to their camp. The loud cries of joy which then came from the Saracens at this delivery of their master soon showed the prefect how badly he had been deceived.

In vain the citizens of Alexandria looked out over the sea with eager eyes toward Constantinople for the ships which never came. Heraclius, the emperor, was too busy with his own troubles to give heed to the frantic cries for help from Egypt. The siege of Alexandria was one of the longest and most fiercely contested in the history of the Saracen conquests. For fifteen months the Greeks and their Arabian foemen struggled in sanguinary conflict, the one to hold, the other to possess the golden city. But at last, after a loss of twenty-three thousand men, Amru finally prevailed and became the master of Alexandria, either late in 640 or early in 641.

17. *The Great Library is Destroyed and Alexandria Dies.*

What he found there must have astonished the Saracen chieftain and his followers, since, in his letter to Caliph Omar, Amru reported: "I have taken the great city of the West. It is impossible for me to enumerate the variety of its riches and beauty; and I shall content myself with observing that it contains four thousand palaces, four thousand baths, four hundred theaters or places of amusement, twelve thousand shops for the sale of vegetable food, and forty thousand tributary Jews. The city has been subdued by force of arms, without treaty or capitulation, and the Moslems are impatient to seize the fruits of their victory."

The caliph was very explicit in his reply that the city was not to be turned over to the soldiers for plunder. Thus in its hour of trial Alexandria escaped a repetition of the calamities which had so frequently befallen it in the years of Roman rule.

But in spite of this merciful treatment of the citizens of Alexandria, the golden city, which we have known in these pages, perished at the hands of the Arabian conquerors. More surely did it die than if Amru and his soldiers had plunged their swords into the heart of every resident within its walls, and razed every palace, every dwelling, and every temple save one between the Island of Pharos and the waters of Mareotis. For now, after passing through tumult, fire, flood, and pestilence, during nine long centuries and more, the soul of the Alexandrian Museum was destroyed. The great Library, the jewel of that ancient city, the one golden link between the culture of ancient Greece and the culture of modern man, was given to the devouring flames.

The story of this greatest crime must be reconstructed from an account of Barhebraeus (Abulfaragius), a Christian writer who lived six centuries after the event which he records. Although this account therefore must be treated with just scepticism, and although a measure of our opprobrium may be reserved for other ignorant men, the story is at least a symbol of how lightly the world cherished the most precious thing which it possessed. The account of Abulfaragius runs as follows:

"John the Grammarian, a famous Peripatetic philosopher, being in Alexandria at the time of its capture, and in high favor with Amru, begged that he would give him the royal library. Amru told him that it was not in his power to grant such a request, but promised to write the caliph for his consent. Omar, on hearing the request of his general, is said to have replied that if those books contained the same doctrine with the *Koran* they could be of no use, since the *Koran* contained all necessary truths; but if they contained anything contrary to that book, they ought to be destroyed; and, therefore, whatever their contents were, he ordered them to be burned. Pursuant to this order, they were distributed among the public baths, of which there were a large number in the city, where, for six months, they served to supply the fires."

And thus ends the story of the golden city. For us no longer is there interest within its walls. With heavy hearts we wend our way slowly down the great Meson Pedion, and turning toward the sea, embark upon the first boat that leaves the harbor. Dusk is creeping once more over the land as our vessel, with bellying sail, glides between the cruel rocks at the foot of the Tower of Pharos and the promontory of the Lochios.

Dusk also is creeping over the life of that glorious city and over the lands beyond, for which it might have provided light in later years. For a moment the rays of the setting sun illuminate the place where first we saw the palaces of the kings. We catch once more the vision of that bright morning when hope fired the imagination of the world and the magnificent adventure had begun. Sadly we turn our faces toward the open sea.

18. *In Which History Has the Last Word.*

With the Moslem conquest of Alexandria and the destruction of the Library the history of the golden city comes to an end. So completely did the city perish as far as western culture was concerned that only a few brief and unimportant references to it can be found thereafter in the works of European travelers. Even its position as a trading center declined and its place was taken ultimately by Cairo which developed upon the site chosen by Amru for the first Moslem capital of Egypt. Not until Napoleon's Egyptian expedition in 1798 was there any general knowledge about the fate of Alexandria. The French discovered then that the great shrine of Hellenistic culture had degraded into a town of about 5,000 people, perhaps little larger or more important than the original village of Rhacotis which Alexander and the Ptolemies had converted into the golden city. No memorials of any kind remained.

But while the physical monuments of the city have disappeared, the influence of Alexandria has not perished. Nor is it possible to believe that there was a complete destruction of all the papyrus rolls of the Library. Otherwise it is difficult to understand how it happened that soon after the fall of Alexandria the untutored Arabs became the custodians of science. During the centuries when the Dark Ages enveloped Europe and the heritage of classical culture had all but disappeared in the west, the torch of Alexandrian learning was kept alight by the Moslem world. The history of science recognizes the existence of a genuine cultural renaissance among the Arabs.

How this stream of learning penetrated Arabia is not known clearly today, but that it was carried through books and manuscripts is certain. Were some of these the papyrus rolls saved from the general destruction of Alexandria by a few who knew their value? Or were they importations from Constantinople, which had remained in Roman hands and still possessed stores of books to which, perhaps, Greek fugitives from Alexandria had added their share of precious rolls?

The penetration of Greek learning into the Moslem world, especially in mathematics and astronomy, was soon apparent. A little more than a century after the destruction of the Alexandrian library, the court of Harun al-Rashid in Bagdad (c. 763-809) became the center of a humanistic and scientific culture. This celebrated caliph, known to all readers of the *Arabian Nights* as one of the heroes of these tales, assembled about him a number of scholars. What is more important, he provided them with leisure and books to advance their knowledge. Important translations of Greek works into Arabic date from this time among which were the *Elements* of Euclid and the *Astronomy* (to be known later as the *Almagest*) and the *Geography* of Ptolemy.

Fortunately the work so auspiciously begun by this enlightened caliph was continued by his younger son, Al-Mamun, who succeeded to the caliphate in 813 on the death of his brother. Al-Mamun ruled for twenty years and the period of his reign may properly be called the golden age of Moslem culture. From the nature of its contribution, and the trends which it exhibited, this fleeting period of revival in learning exhibits again the vast influence of the Greek manuscripts which had survived the destructive forces of the Roman and Saracen empires. Treatises on astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and philosophy were translated into Arabic. An academy, modeled perhaps after the Alexandrian Museum, was founded in Bagdad under the name of the *House of Wisdom* (Bagt al-hikma), which included among its facilities a library and an observatory. We learn that important translations, made by the scholars of the academy, included the works of Apollonius, Archimedes, Hero, and Diophantus.

A second observatory was constructed by Caliph Al-Mamun at Tadmor (Palmyra). One principal achievement of the astronomers there appears to have been the determination of the obliquity of the ecliptic, which they found to equal 23° 33′. That this estimate was an excellent one is seen from the fact that in the year 813, the beginning of the caliphate of Al-Mamun, the value of this quantity was actually (by modern theory) equal to 23° 35.6′. The astronomers were also commissioned to determine the length of one degree of arc along a meridian of the earth. In this they were not as successful as Eratosthenes had been before them, since their estimate of 56 ⅔ miles was only 82 per cent of the true value.

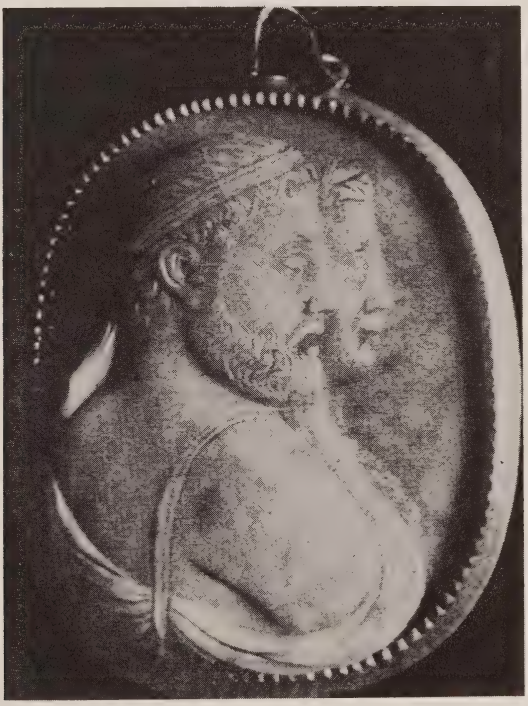
The most noted scholar of this period, and perhaps the principal genius of Arabian science, was Mohammed ibn-Musa al-Khowarizmi, who wrote books on arithmetic and algebra. One cannot claim for these the full influence of Greek mathematics, however, since both books are known to have had roots in the contributions of the Hindus. But since the Greek element predominates in the algebra there is no doubt that al-Khowarizmi was influenced by the work of Diophantus to which he had access through translation at that time. The title of his book has given the word *algebra* to western mathematics and his name contributes the term *algorithm,* which is used today to denote any special method of computation. Al-Khowarizmi also interested himself in astronomy and advanced this science by the construction of tables which contained, with other computations, values of the sine and tangent functions.

We shall not describe other consequences of this stream of learning, which began with the enlightened caliphs just described, for this would take us far afield. Our object in this interpolation is merely to show that the golden thread of the Alexandrian Museum and its library was not actually severed, but that it extended across the deserts of Arabia where it was to be rediscovered by the western world in later centuries.

Historians often assume that the date of demarcation between the Middle Ages and the Modern Period is 1453, when Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks and the Roman Empire of the East was brought to an end. The period of the Renaissance, which actually began somewhat earlier, was greatly accelerated by this momentous political event. But the final dissolution of an empire that had survived for fourteen centuries was of much less consequence to the world than another event which accompanied it. This was the exodus from the captured city of Greek scholars who brought with them numerous manuscripts that had been hidden for centuries from the nations of the west.

Since the fall of Constantinople occurred nearly eight centuries after the destruction of the Alexandrian library, it would be difficult to prove that the small residue of manuscripts which may have been saved from the fires of the public baths found their way ultimately into the hands of the Greek scholars and thus came into the knowledge of the west. But that some of these had their origin in the fountainhead of the Alexandrian library is scarcely to be doubted, since among the manuscripts that thus entered the culture of Europe were Arabic translations of Ptolemy, Euclid, Diophantus, and others. The story of the vicissitudes of the original editions can never be told, but it is not difficult to believe that by various routes many of these ultimately reached the hands of the scholars of the western world and that the revival of learning was greatly stimulated by their recovery.

The observation with which we shall conclude our story of the golden city is included in a proposition which may be deduced from a contemplation of the patterns of history. The advancement of civilization and its consequent amelioration of mankind has not been accomplished directly by political events, It is created principally through the almost imperceptible increments of discovery which have been transmitted through the medium of books and thus added to the knowledge of succeeding generations. Only five centuries have intervened between the fall of Constantinople and the present time. But the great sweep of scientific discovery, which has changed the entire face of the earth, began in earnest when the Greek and Arabic manuscripts finally found their way into the hands of the humanistic and scientific scholars of Europe. And thus, through the strange vicissitudes of political fortune which we have attempted to trace in this story, the true glory of Alexandria has been made patent to the world.



ODAENATHUS AND ZENOBIA

(Engraved by Demetrius)

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND NOTES

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND NOTES

The method of presentation of the historical narrative as set forth in the preceding pages of this book may raise doubts in the minds of some readers and seem to impeach its authority. The author, however, desires to allay the suspicion of casual scholarship by setting forth some of the authorities consulted and by introducing certain notes relating to technical matters which are better referred to an appendix than included in the main body of the text.

This work has been long in growing. It required the building of an extensive background, as one may infer from the fact that only sections of the story have been told by others. The knowledge of the historian must be augmented by a knowledge of the history of science, and, in particular, of the history of mathematics. There are numerous works which relate the exploits of Alexander and Cleopatra; volumes have been written about the Neoplatonic philosophers and the origins of the Christian Church; a few have described the contributions of the Museum to science; the history of the Ptolemies has been set forth in notable works. But no one appears to have attempted the task of putting the entire story of the city into a unified treatise.

Since the events of ten centuries have been surveyed in a single work, — ten centuries from the birth of the city to its destruction by the Moslems, — it is clear that many details have been omitted necessarily. Had the world seemed eager for a longer history, — a history which it has awaited with such unusual patience, — the work might have been enlarged into several additional volumes. However, there is some advantage in a shorter survey, since the great pattern of the achievements of the ancient city stands out more clearly. The principal contributions of Alexandria to the world, are not obscured by a recitation of the more superficial details of its history.

The bibliography which is here appended is not complete, since a detailed enumeration of all sources would be a vast undertaking in itself. Enough is given, however, so that the scholar who wishes to probe deeper into phases of the subject will find, we hope, a sufficiently comprehensive listing of authorities with which to begin his work.

Primary sources were used throughout the work, most of these, except in the case of the last chapter, being derived from the original contributions of Greek and Latin authors. The sources are thus principally literary ones, since virtually no archeological explorations have been undertaken in the ancient city. Over the centuries the seacoast has slowly settled until the antiquities of Alexandria, the temples and the palaces, have been swallowed up by the sea. Since the modern city has covered the site of the ancient one, the difficulties and expense of exploration have been insurmountable. We are thus left with no alternative but to recreate the golden city out of the records that have survived from those who knew it most intimately.

Care has been taken with certain small details which may have seemed to the reader to be inventions of the author's imagination. For example, the Egyptian sky in February of the year 279 B. C., as pictured in the first chapter, was actually recreated in the Adler planetarium in Chicago before it was described. The fact that there was a full moon in the sky on the eve of the great Alexandrian earthquake in the year 365 was ascertained from the records of the lunar ephemeris. Even such an insignificant detail as the statement that the dioketes of Ptolemy Philadelphus was Satyrus is taken from authentic records.

Since no book can belong wholly to an author, it is fitting and proper that acknowledgement of debts incurred in its composition should be freely admitted. The present work is no exception and many people have helped in the making of it. First and foremost, of course, are the authors of the many works which have been consulted. A number of colleagues have been interested in the project, among whom especially were Professor A. P. Dorjahn of Northwestern University and Professor C. C. Mierow, formerly of Colorado College and Carlton College. In connection with the problem of Alexandrian art, Professor J. C. Webster of Northwestern University called to the author's attention several recent additions to the literature of this attractive subject. Acknowledgement should also be made of the interest of his colleague, Professor E. H. C. Hildebrandt, who found use in his classes for the material relating to the history of mathematics. The author was aided in the illustration of the work by his daughter, Mrs. Leon Little, Jr., who provided drawings of Cleopatra and Hypatia, and by Mrs. June Hicks of the reference staff of Deering Library, who helped in the selection of some of the pictures used in the text. To Miss Vera Fisher the author is deeply indebted for assistance in the production of the work for the press.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 1.

Among the primary sources used in this chapter from ancient authors are the following:

(1) Athenaeus: *Deipnosophistae* (The Banquet of the Philosophers) in 15 books. Athenaeus, who is a principal source about the life and habits of the citizens of Alexandria and some of their rulers, flourished near the end of the second century of our era.

(2) Strabo's *Geography*, Book xvii. Strabo, who was born about 63 B. C., has given us our principal information about Alexandria as a city. His *Geography* consists of 17 books of which only the seventh is fragmentary.

(3) Ammianus Marcellinus: *History*, Book xxii, 16, 7-20. This author, who flourished in the second half of the fourth century A. D., gives details about the city itself.

Among modern authorities consulted in the preparation of this chapter we list the following. This list, however, should be augmented by the authors cited in the notes on Chapter 5.

(1) J. P. Mahaffy: (a) *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty.* London, 1899, xiii + 261 pp.

(b) *The Empire of the Ptolemies.* London, 1895, xxv + 533 pp.

(c) *Greek Life and Thought.* London, 1887, xxxviii + 600 pp.

(2) M. Rostovtzeff: (a) *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World.* 3 vols., Oxford, 1940, xxiv + 1779 pp.

(b) *History of the Ancient World.* 1924-26. In particular, Vol. 1.

(3) Pauly-Wissowa: *Realencyclopädie:* "Alexandria" by O. Puchstein.

(4) Sir Ernest A. W. Budge: *A History of Egypt.* 8 vols., London, 1902. In particular, vols. 7 and 8.

(5) Karl J. Beloch: *Griechische Geschichte.* 4 vols., 1893-1904. In particular, vol. 3, ii, pp. 134 et seq.

(6) Mahmud Bey el Fallaki: *Mémoire sur l'antique Alexandrie*, 1872.

(7) T. D. Neroutsos: *L'ancienne Alexandrie*, 1888.

(8) G. Lumbroso: *L'Egitto al tempo dei Greci a dei Romani*, 1882.

(9) H. Kiepert: *Zur Topographie des alten Alexandria*, 1872.

(10) Charles Kingsley: *Alexandria and her Schools*, 1854.

A number of cartographic reconstructions of the city of Alexandria are available, based, however, almost entirely upon literary sources. Most of these maps, together with descriptions of their origins, have been reproduced in a recent work by E. A. Parsons: *The Alexandrian Library*, 1952, 468 pp. This interesting volume, although its principal attention is focused upon the libraries of Alexandria, gives a considerable amount of information about other subjects and contains an extensive bibliography. The maps in the present volume were made on the basis of maps given by the following authorities:

(1) A reconstruction of the city by G. Botti reproduced in Mahaffy (a).

(2) Baedeker's *Egypt*. 1898.

(3) *Atlas of Ancient and Classical Geography*. Everyman's Library, London, 1907.

The evening sky in Alexandria as described in Chapter 1 was obtained from observations made by Dr. R. B. Baldwin and transmitted by Dr. Oliver Lee, former director of the Dearborn Observatory, Northwestern University. The precession mechanism of the Adler Planetarium (Chicago) was set for February 10, 288 B. C., one hour after sunset. This date was actually a few years earlier than the date of the great Festival, but the change in the position of the stars would be negligible. The following azimuths and altitudes were then obtained:

Celestial Object	Azimuth	Altitude (on meridian)	Celestial Object	Azimuth	Altitude (on meridian)
Orion:	180°	55°	Canopus:	170°	5°
Sirius:	170°	40°	Pleiades:	225°	70°
Leo:	90°	30°	Gemini:	90°	80°

The following authorities were consulted with respect to the details of the Pharos light-house:

According to Pliny (36, 18) the tower of Pharos cost 800 talents. Eusebius in his *Chronicon* (124, 1) says that it was built near the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, but Suidas places its construction in the reign of Pyrrhus (c. 299 B.C.), namely, in the time of Ptolemy Soter. According to Josephus in his *Jewish War* (5, 10, 5) the fire in the Pharos tower was visible at sea for 300 stadia. For other references see: Pauly-Wissowa: *Realencyclopädie;* Daremberg-Saglio: *Dictionnaire des Antiquités;*

A. M. de Zogheb: *Étude sur l'ancienne Alexandrie,* Paris, 1910; and Thiersch's restoration of the tower in Rostovtzeff's *History of the Ancient World,* vol. 1, p. 369.

No description of a Ptolemaic feast has come down to us. The one given in the text is an adaptation of a Macedonian wedding feast described by Athenaeus as "surpassing in sumptuousness any that had been given anywhere." See *Deipnosophistae,* 2, 126 and 4, 128-131. The wedding feast was actually somewhat more elaborate than the reconstruction of Ptolemy's banquet, but it did not seem fair to strain the credulity of the reader by including all of it.

An extensive account of the pavilion of Ptolemy Philadelphus is given by Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae,* v, 196-197, who quotes "Callixeinus of Rhodes in the fourth book of his work on Alexandria," now unfortunately lost.

The parade as described in the text is taken from the detailed record given by Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae,* v, 197-203, also on the directly quoted authority of Callixeinus.

According to Strabo (xiii) the library of Aristotle was sold to Apellicon of Teos, who carried it to Athens, where after Apellicon's death it fell a prey to the conqueror Sulla. According to Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae,* 1, 3, we read: "From Neleus, they say, our King Ptolemy, surnamed Philadelphus, purchased all [of Aristotle's books] and transferred them with those which he had procured at Athens and Rhodes to his beautiful capital, Alexandria."

Many details of Lake Mareotis, as well as other matters relating to Alexandria, are found in Anthony de Casson: *Mareotis.* London, 1935, 219 p.

Information about the contents of the Museum library is considerable throughout Athenaeus. Modern authorities include: F. W. Ritschl: "Die alexandrinischen Bibliotheken" in *Opuscula Philologica* (5 vols. 1867-79), 1, 123; Theodor Birt: *Das Antike Buchwesen in seinen Verhältniss zur Litteratur.* Berlin, 1882, vii + 518 pp.; J. Westfall Thompson: *Ancient Libraries;* E. A. Parsons: *The Alexandrian Library.* Loc. cit.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 2.

The principal classical sources for the history of Alexander the Great are the following:

(1) Arrian: *The Anabasis of Alexander* in seven books. This work is based upon two records now lost, the first by Ptolemy Soter and the second by Aristobulus. Both of these writers accompanied Alexander on his campaign and were eye witnesses of the events which they described. This work is without doubt the most trustworthy account of the life of Alexander which we possess. Arrian also wrote *Indica*, which contains, together with other matters, an account of the voyages of Nearchus, and is a supplement to the *Anabasis*. Arrian was born about 96 A. D.

(2) Plutarch: *Life of Alexander*. Plutarch lived between 46 and 120 A.D. His account of Alexander was undoubtedly based on careful research into existing records.

(3) Diodorus Siculus: Book 17 of *Bibliotheca Historica* (Historical Library) written about 20 B. C. This work of Diodorus was divided into 40 books of which, other than fragments, we possess only the first five and those between 11 and 20 inclusive. As an historian Diodorus was uncritical and his writing is colorless, but his account of the life of Alexander contains some material not found in other sources.

(4) Quintus Curtius Rufus: *De Rebus Gestis Alexandri Magni* (Concerning the Achievements of Alexander the Great). Originally written in 10 books, this uncritical work tells the adventures of Alexander in a lively manner. The first two books are lost and the remaining eight are not complete. The date of Curtius is uncertain, but he is generally believed to have flourished during the reign of Claudius (41-54 A. D.).

(5) Justin: Books 11 and 12 of *Historiarum Philippicarum libri XLIV* (Forty-four books of the Philippic Histories) produced probably during the third century A. D. This work is an epitome of the lost history of Gnaeus Pompeius Trogus (*Historia Philippicae)*, who lived during the age of Augustus.

In addition to these principal authorities there exist fragments of the works written by various people who were actual associates of Alexander, such as Ptolemy Soter, Aristobulus, Callisthenes, Nearchus, Clitarchus, and others. These fragments are collected in Karl Müller's edition of *Arrian*, Paris, 1846.

There are also numerous references to Alexander in classical writers such as Athenaeus, Strabo, Josephus, and many others. A bibliography of these references will be found in H. Berve: *Das Alexanderreich auf prosographischer Grundlage*. Munich, 1926.

The subject of Alexander's exploits has been treated by a very large number of modern writers. To enumerate these would be a task of first magnitude. But all accounts must stem from the primary sources given above, although the appraisal of the genius of the great general on the basis of these records varies considerably with the writer. The best evidence for this is to contrast the factual account of Arrian with the romance of Alexander, which will be treated in Chapter 13. This romantic deification of Alexander originated in Ptolemaic times, but was given wide currency during the Middle Ages through a work written in the third century A. D. and circulated under the name of Callisthenes. Since the imaginary episodes and miraculous events recorded in this book had little relationship with the presumably factual life of Alexander written by Callisthenes, the author has been called the pseudo-Callisthenes.

Among the numerous accounts of the life and exploits of Alexander the following are especially noteworthy:

(1) J. P. Mahaffy: *Alexander's Empire*. New York, 1906, xxii + 323 pp.

(2) D. G. Hogarth: *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*. 1897.

(3) G. Grote: *History of Greece*, in 10 volumes, 1846-1856.

(4) J. D. Bury: *History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great*. 1900, 1913 ed., xxii + 885 pp.

(5) Pauly-Wissowa: *Realencyclopädie*. Articles "Alexander" by Kaerst (1894) and "Aristobulos," "Arrianus," "Quintus Curtius," "Diodorus" by E. Schwartz.

(6) A. Weigall: *Alexander the Great*. New York, 1933, xv + 352 pp.

(7) L. V. Cummings: *Alexander the Great*. Boston, 1940, v + 462 pp.

(8) Sir Ernest A. W. Budge: *The Alexander Book in Ethiopia, containing the Ethiopic Versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes, the Chronicle of Almakin, the Narrative of Joseph Ben Gorion, and a Christian Romance of Alexander*. London, 1933, xxix + 277 pp.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 3.

Little enough is known about the lives of the literary men of the period of King Philadelphus. What we have is found mainly in scattered sources, such as the comments of Athenaeus, and in such references as the authors themselves may include about their own lives. This scanty information is given in the editions of the works of the writers to which the reader is referred if he wishes to supplement the information contained in the present volume.

The Loeb Classical Library is a primary source of modern recensions of Greek and Latin writers. This Library, founded by James Loeb (1867-1933) in 1912, has provided more than 300 volumes edited by competent scholars. In this list we find the works of the following authors, who appear in the *dramatis personae* of Chapter 3:

Apollonius of Rhodes, translated by R. C. Seaton; *Callimachus and Lycophron*, translated by A. W. Mair; *Aratus*, translated by G. R. Mair; *Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus*, translated by J. M. Edmonds.

Numerous editions of *Theocritus* have appeared, since this writer has appealed to the fancy of the modern world. One translation, by J. Banks, is found in Bohn's Classical Library.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 4.

The reader who is interested in a vivid account of the contribution of Alexandria to the development of mathematics is referred to the following article by R. E. Langer: "Alexandria – Shrine of Mathematics," *American Mathematical Monthly*, Vol. 48, 1941, pp. 109-125. This notable essay, written in an animated and picturesque style, is one of the best appraisals known to the author of the significance of the golden city, especially as this significance is related to the later history of science in the western world.

With respect to the life of Archimedes our principal source is Plutarch's *Life of Marcellus*, which, of course, was written near the end of the first century A. D., and thus centuries after the events which it describes. The siege of Syracuse and Archimedes' contribution to the defense of the city are described in detail by Polybius in his *Histories* written sometime after 146 B. C. Unfortunately the account is not complete since the manuscript is lost before the details of the actual capture of the city and the death of Archimedes have been described.

The principal modern authority on the achievements of Archimedes is T. L. Heath. His treatise on *The Works of Archimedes*, Cambridge, 1897, clxxxvi + 326 pp. gives a complete account of all that we know about this classical scientist.

The first printed edition of the works of Archimedes appeared at Basel in 1544, together with the commentary of Eutocius, who probably flourished near the beginning of the fifth century A. D.

The extant works of Archimedes are the following:

(1) *On the Sphere and Cylinder;* (2) *The Measurement of the Circle;* (3) *On Conoids and Spheroids;* (4) *On Spirals;* (5) *On the Equilibrium of Planes or Center of Gravity of Planes;* (6) *The Quadrature of the Parabola;* (7) *On Floating Bodies;* (8) *The Sand Reckoner* [*Psammites* in Greek; *Arenarius* in Latin]; (9) *A Collection of Fifteen Lemmas;* (10) *The Method.*

It is interesting to note that *The Method* was not known until 1906, when a copy was discovered in Constantinople by J. H. Heiberg.

The *loculus Archimedius* is described by W. W. R. Ball in his *Mathematical Recreations,* 10th edition, 1931, p. 54. The construction is ascribed to H. Suter in *Zeitschrift für Math. und Physik,* Vol. 44, 1899, pp. 491-499.

The famous theorem by means of which Archimedes was able to perform the quadrature of the parabola may be stated as follows:

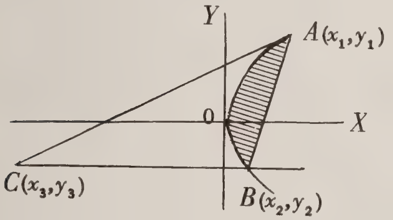


Figure 1

The area of the segment of the parabola AOB *is equal to one-third of the area of the triangle* ABC *formed by the intersection of the tangent* (AC) *with the line* (BC) *parallel to the axis, and the chord* (AB) *of the parabola.*

To prove this, let $y^2 = 2px$ be the equation of the parabola *AOB* (Figure 1). Then the equation of the tangent line through $(x_1 y_1)$ is

$$y - y_1 = \frac{p}{y_1}(x - x_1).$$

The coordinates of C are then

$$x_3 = \frac{2y_1 y_2 - y_1^2}{2p}, \qquad y_3 = y_2;$$

and the area Δ of ABC is given by

$$\Delta = \tfrac{1}{2}(y_1 - y_2)(x_2 - x_3) = \tfrac{1}{2}(y_1 - y_2)\,\frac{(y_1 - y_2)^2}{2p} = \frac{(y_1 - y_2)^3}{4p}\,.$$

Since the equation of the chord *AB* is given by

$$x = \frac{(y_1 + y_2)}{2p}\,y - \frac{y_1 y_2}{2p}\,,$$

the area Δ' of the segment of the parabola is found as follows:

$$\Delta' = \int_{y_2}^{y_1}\left[\frac{(y_1 + y_2)}{2p}\,y - \frac{y_1 y_2}{2p} - \frac{y^2}{2p}\right]dy = \frac{(y_1 - y_2)^3}{12p}\,.$$

We thus see that $\Delta' = \tfrac{1}{3}\Delta$.

Archimedes, as we have seen, stated his theorem in terms of the lever. To understand his statement let us consider the triangle *ABC* (Figure 2) where *P* is the intersection of the medians. About *P* we know two facts (a) that it is the centroid of the triangle and (b) that *KP* is one-third of *KA*.

Hence, if *K* is made the fulcrum of a lever, the moment of area of the triangle *ABC* will be *KP* times the area of the triangle, that is to say, $KP \times \Delta$.

Similarly, the moment of area of the segment of the parabola, if it is concentrated at the point *L*, will be *KL* times its area, that is, $KL \times \Delta'$. But since $\Delta = 3\,\Delta'$, the parabola will exactly balance the triangle only if $KL = 3KP$.

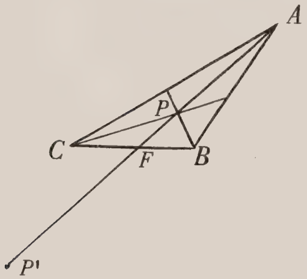


Figure 2.

Since Archimedes by his theorem had achieved the ability to integrate a quadratic function, he was now able to solve other problems involving such an integral. It was thus that he attained his remarkable result concerning the area enclosed by one loop of the spiral; $\rho = a\theta$. In modern notation, the area is given by the following integral:

$$A = \tfrac{1}{2}\int_0^{2\pi} \rho^2\, d\theta = \tfrac{1}{2}a^2 \int_0^{2\pi} \theta^2\, d\theta = \tfrac{1}{3}\pi\,(2\pi a)^2\,,$$

which shows that the problem reduces essentially to the integral of a square.

Archimedes showed a deep understanding of the theory of limits. This he used in approximating π. He observed that the value of π would be greater than the perimeter of a polygon inscribed in a circle, but less than the perimeter of one circumscribing the circle. Hence the value of π would be the limit of the two perimeters. Evaluating the perimeters of such polygons of 6, 12, 24, 48, and 96 sides, Archimedes established the inequality:

$$3\frac{10}{71} < \pi < 3\frac{1}{7}.$$

In this proof he makes use of the proposition, assumed known, that

$$\frac{265}{153} < \sqrt{3} < \frac{1351}{780}.$$

The cattle problem of Archimedes is formulated as follows, although the reason for the respective ratios is not known: The sun had a herd of bulls and cows each of four colors and one is required to find the number in each class. If we represent the number of white bulls and cows respectively by W and w, the number of black by X and x, the number of yellow by Y and y, and the number of dappled by Z and z, the conditions imposed are given by the following equations:

$$\begin{array}{ll}
W = (\tfrac{1}{2} + \tfrac{1}{3})\,X + Y, & w = (\tfrac{1}{3} + \tfrac{1}{4})\,(X + x), \\
X = (\tfrac{1}{4} + \tfrac{1}{5})\,Z + Y, & x = (\tfrac{1}{4} + \tfrac{1}{5})\,(Z + z), \\
Z = (\tfrac{1}{6} + \tfrac{1}{7})\,W + Y, & y = (\tfrac{1}{6} + \tfrac{1}{7})\,(W + w), \\
W + X = \text{a square}, & z = (\tfrac{1}{5} + \tfrac{1}{6})\,(Y + y),
\end{array}$$

$$Y + Z = \text{a triangular number} = \tfrac{1}{2}n(n + 1).$$

If we assume that $W + X$ is merely the product of two integers and not necessarily a perfect square, the problem is called Wurm's problem after J. F. Wurm, who first solved it. In this case we have the following solution: (See Amthor: *Zeit. für Math.*, Vol. 25, 1880, p. 156 et seq.)

$$\begin{array}{llll}
W = & 1{,}217{,}263{,}415{,}886 & w = & 846{,}192{,}410{,}280 \\
X = & 876{,}035{,}935{,}422 & x = & 574{,}579{,}625{,}058 \\
Y = & 487{,}233{,}469{,}701 & y = & 638{,}688{,}708{,}099 \\
Z = & 864{,}005{,}479{,}380 & z = & 412{,}838{,}131{,}860 \\
\cline{3-4}
 & & \text{Sum} = & 5{,}916{,}837{,}175{,}686
\end{array}$$

Considering the general problem, Amthor reduced the computation to the solution of the Pellian equation:

$$t^2 - 472949\, s^2 = 1.$$

He found the solution $W = 1598$ (206541 digits), Sum = 7766 (206541 digits). To print the solution would require 660 pages of a large seven-figure table of logarithms.

This problem is supposed to have been given to Eratosthenes. It is not believed that Archimedes gave a solution of the problem.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 5.

The history of the Ptolemies has been constructed by a number of modern writers from numerous classical sources. Some of these works may be listed as follows:

(1) J. P. Mahaffy: (a) The *Empire of the Ptolemies.* London, 1895, xxv + 533 p. (b) *A History of Egypt Under the Ptolemaic Dynasty.* London, 1899, xiii + 261 p.

(2) M. L. Strack: *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer.* 1897.

(3) Auguste Bouche-Leclercq: *Histoire des Lagides.* 4 vols., 1903-1907.

(4) P. M. Meyer: *Das heerwesen der Ptolemäer ünd Römer in Agypten.* Leipzig, 1900, x + 231 p.

(5) M. Rostovtzeff: (a) *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World.* 3 vols., Oxford, 1940, xxiv + 1779 p. (b) *History of the Ancient World.* 1924-1926. In particular Vol. 1.

(6) Sir Ernest A. W. Budge. *A History of Egypt.* 8 vols., 1903. In particular Vols. 7 and 8.

The ancient authorities may be listed under the various rulers as follows:

Ptolemy I. Authorities quoted in the *Bibliography and Notes* of Chapter 2. In addition Josephus: *History of the Jewish War; Antiquities of the Jews.*

Plutarch: *Demetrius.*
Athenaeus: *Deipnosophistae.*
Strabo's *Geography.*
Pliny's *Natural History.*

Ptolemy II. There exist no adequate authorities on this reign. Some contemporary documents exist, such as the Petrie Papyri, and there are references in the writings of the poets Aratus, Callimachus, Herondas, and Theocritus. Athenaeus is rich in reference to this Ptolemy.

Ptolemy III. Only fragmentary evidence exists relative to the events of this reign. It is interesting to observe that one of our most important sources is a commentary made by St. Jerome (c. 340-420) interpreting the obscure verses 7 and 8 of Chapter 11 in the *Book of Daniel,* which relate to an invasion of the province of the king of the north by an Egyptian army. The king of the north is interpreted by St. Jerome to be Seleucus and the invader to be Euergetes. Various papyri, including the decree of Canopus, help in reconstructing the principal events of this reign.

Ptolemy IV. The principal source for this period is the *History* of Polybius. Plutarch's *Life of Cleomenes* and Josephus also add a considerable amount of detail.

Ptolemies V to VII. The *History* of Polybius covers these reigns. There are other sources, however, such as the *History* of Livy. The most important contemporary source is the famous Rosetta stone.

Ptolemies VIII to XII. Scattered references to the histories and a considerable number of papyri edited by B. P. Grenfell (Clarendon Press, 1896-97) supply the major information about these Ptolemies.

The origin of the Greek Bible has been the subject of numerous studies. That it antedated the Neopythagorean Philo (born sometime around 20-10 B. C. is shown by the fact that Philo in his *Vita Mosis,* ii, 7, 2, 141, describes a festival given annually at Pharos in honor of the origin of the Greek Bible.

The spurious character of the *Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates* was shown by Humphrey Hody, Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford in 1684. The letter in condensed form is given by Josephus in his *Jewish Antiquities, xii, 2.* G. Lumbroso in *Recherches sur l'econ. pol. de l'Egypt sous les Lagides,* Turin, 1870, p. xiii, says: "There is not [in the letter] a court-title, an institution, a law, a magestracy, an office, a technical term, a formula, a peculiar phrase which is not found on papyri or inscriptions and confirmed by them." For other references see: S. Tracy: *III Maccabees and Pseudo-Aristeas: A Study,* Yale Classical Studies, i, 1928; H. G. Meacham: *The Oldest Version of the Bible: 'Aristeas' on its Traditional Origin,* 1932. This work contains a translation of the letter and some comments about it, esp. pp. 172 et seq.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 6.

The primary sources for the status of ancient medicine are the following:

(1) *The Works of Hippocrates.* The Loeb Classical Library provides an excellent edition in four volumes, 1, 2, and 4 edited and translated by W. H. S. Jones and volume 3 by E. T. Withington. A recent edition of the classical translation of Francis Adams: *The Genuine Works of Hippocrates* appeared in 1939, Baltimore, viii + 374 pp.

(2) *The Works of Galen.* There have been numerous editions of parts or all of the extant writings of Galen. The most complete of these is, perhaps, the edition in 20 volumes published by C. G. Kühn in Leipzig in 1821-1833. The Loeb Classical Library provides an edition of the work *On Natural Faculties* with a translation by A. J. Brock.

(3) Pliny's *Natural History.* Books 20 to 32 inclusive deal with medicine. Many editions of this work have been issued. Pliny (the Elder) lived between 23 and 79 A. D.

(4) Aurelius Cornelius Celsus: *De re medicina.* (On Medicine). The Loeb Classical Library provides an edition, original and translation, in three volumes by W. G. Spencer.

Among modern commentaries on the history of medicine during the classical period may be listed the following:

G. Sarton: *Introduction to the History of Science.* Vol. 1, 1927. Publication 376, Carnegie Institution of Washington, xi + 839 pp.

F. H. Garrison: *An Introduction to the History of Medicine.* 4th edition, Philadelphia and London, 1929, 996 pp.

A well known aphorism of Herophilus has been paraphrased by the poet John Gay (1685-1732) as follows:

"Nor Love nor Honor, Wealth nor Power
Can give the heart a cheerful hour
When Health is Lost."

NOTES ON CHAPTER 7.

The principal ancient authorities relied on in this chapter were Strabo's *Geography*, Ptolemy's *Geography*, and the *History* of Polybius. Strabo, in addition to his own observations, depended in part upon the work of such Greek geographers as Posidonius and Theophanes of Mytilene, whose writings have now disappeared. In Strabo's work we find the first record of an exploration, – the important story of Eudoxus (ii, 3, 4).

Our reliance upon three authors does not mean, however, that accounts of geographical matters were scarce in classical literature. Far from it, as one sees from the *Description of Greece* by Pausanias written during the second century and the *Natural History* of Pliny, who devoted five books (iii-vii) to geography.

The reader is also referred to one modern work, the *History of Ancient Geography* by E. H. Bunbury (1879).

NOTES ON CHAPTER 8.

The mathematical works of Hero (or Heron) of Alexandria which are extant are the following: *Definitiones*, *Geometria*, *Geodaesia*, *Stereometrica*, *Mensurae*, *Liber*, *Geoponicus*, and *Metrica* (discovered in 1903). These works deal with geometrical problems.

Related to these is a treatise *On the Dioptra*, which discusses problems of surveying and takes its name from the instrument used. This contrivance resembled the modern theodolite.

Works of Hero which discuss problems in physics are the following:

(1) *Pneumatica and Automatopoietica.* The former treats of pneumatic devices; the second is a treatise on the art of automation-making.

(2) *Belopoiica.* This deals with engines of war.

(3) *Cheiroballistra.* This work treats of handslings.

Other works are (a) *Mechanics* in three books, quoted by Pappus, which is believed to be identical with one on *Barulcus* (lifting heavy objects), extant in Arabic, and (b) one on *Catoptrica* (reflecting surfaces), which may be identical with a fragment believed to belong to Ptolemy's *Optics*.

The problem of the date of Hero has caused much concern to the historians of science. Two schools of thought exist, one of which places the date when he flourished around 100 B. C., the second not earlier than 100 A. D. The first group uses as its argument the connection between the names of Ctsebius and Hero, the former being identical with the inventor of the water organ who lived in Ptolemaic times. The second school, supported by the authority of T. L. Heath, bases its date upon (1) the use of certain Latinisms which appeared in the first century; (2) mention in the *Mechanics* of a small olive-press with one screw alluded to by Pliny who says that it was introduced since 55 A. D.; (3) an allusion by Plutarch to a property of the reflection of light which was proved by Hero in his *Catoptrica.* Another authority (M. Marie, in *Histoire des sciences mathématiques et physiques,* Paris, Vol. 1, 1883, p. 178) believed that the *Dioptra* was the work of a second Hero, living in the eighth or ninth century A. D. Thus some writers speak of Hero, the Elder, and Hero, the Younger, although there is no evidence other than inference to support this view. Marie's argument was that the theorem in the *Dioptra,* which gave the area of a triangle in terms of its sides, was of such a striking character that it would surely have been mentioned earlier by others if it had been produced by Hero of Alexandria.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 9.

Although the work of Aratus was without significance as a contribution to astronomy, it is interesting to observe that it received the serious attention of Hipparchus in his one extant work: *Commentary on the Phaenomena of Eudoxus and Aratus.*

Aristarchus is known mainly through the comments of others. Thus his heliocentric theory is described by Archimedes in his *Arenarius,* or *Sand Reckoner,* as described in Chapter 4. His one extant work is entitled: *On the Magnitude and Distance of Sun and Moon.*

None of the writings of Posidonius has been preserved for us and his contributions to astronomy are known mainly through the commentary of Strabo in his *Geography.* It is instructive to compare the following statement of Seleucus (c. 150 B. C.) about the influence of the moon upon the tides with the more extended observations of Posidonius quoted in this chapter: "The revolution of the moon is opposed to the earth's rotation; but the air between the two bodies being drawn forward falls upon the Atlantic Ocean, and the sea is disturbed in proportion." For a modern commentary on the work of Posidonius see Arnold: *Untersuchungen über Theophanes von Mytilene und Posidonius von Apamea,* (1882).

Many editions of Ptolemy's *Almagest* have been printed, one excellent Greek text appearing in Basel in 1538, although this was not the first to be issued in type. This work is also noted for its mathematics, since it contains in an almost completed form the elements of plane and spherical trigonometry. By the use of ingenious methods Ptolemy was able to compile a table of chords (equivalent to a table of sines) accurate to six decimal places, at intervals of a half degree.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 10.

The sources for this chapter are those which relate to the lives of the four principal characters of the drama: Julius Caesar, Marc Antony, Augustus, and Cleopatra.

Classical sources include primarily the following:

(1) Dio Cassius: *Roman History*, books 42 to 51 inclusive. The author was not a contemporary since he flourished around 200 A. D.

(2) Appian: *Roman History*. The five books which describe the Civil War. Appian relied upon literary sources since he lived during the second century.

(3) Plutarch: The *Lives* of Caesar, Antony, Cicero, and Brutus. Plutarch lived between 46 and 120 A. D.

(4) Velleius Paterculus: Abridgment in two books of *Roman History*. The second volume treats the events of the period of this chapter, especially from the death of Julius Caesar to the death of Augustus. The author was a contemporary of Augustus since he lived from about 19 B. C. to 30 A. D.

(5) Lucan: *Pharsalia*, an epic in 10 books. This work covers the period of the Civil War. The eighth book tells of the flight of Pompey to Egypt, the ninth the operations of Cato in Africa and the landing of Caesar in Egypt, and the tenth the opening of the Alexandrian war. The book ends with Caesar about to plunge into the harbor at Alexandria. Lucan lived between 39 and 65 A. D.

(6) Suetonius: *Lives of the Caesars*, especially those of Julius Caesar and Augustus. Suetonius, who flourished during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, is known for the piquancy of his chronicles.

(7) Julius Caesar: *De Bello Civili* (The Civil War). The beginning of the Alexandrian adventure is told in the third book.

Modern sources are so numerous that only a few will be mentioned. These include the following:

Ward Fowler: *Julius Caesar, and the Foundations of the Roman Imperial System.* New York, 1891, 389 pp.

T. Mommsen: *The History of Rome.* 1854-56; English Edition, 1871. Vol. 4. Mommsen's account of Caesar has been attacked by critics for its interpretation of Caesar as the supreme figure in Roman history.

V. Gardthausen: *Augustus und seine Zeit.* Two volumes, Leipzig, 1891-1904.

Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie.* Biographies of the principal characters.

A. Weigall: (a) *The Life and Times of Cleopatra.* New York, 1924, vii + 443 pp. (b) *The Life and Times of Marc Antony.* New York, 1931, vii + 475 pp.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 11.

Classical authorities on the history of the Roman Empire include the following:

Suetonius: *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars.*

Dio Cassius: *Roman History.* Written originally in 80 books, this work carried the history to the reign of Alexander Severus (222-235). Only about a third of the *History* is extant in essentially complete form (books 34-60). Fragments of the earlier books exist and an epitome of the last twenty are available from epitomes by Zonaras and Xiphilinus. The former flourished during the twelfth century and the latter during the eleventh.

Tacitus: *Histories* and *Annals.* These works together originally covered the period from 14 to 96, but the extant portions cover only about forty years of this span.

Scriptores Historiae Augustae. This work is a series of biographies of Roman emperors from Hadrian to Carinus, (117-284), presumably written during the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine. The collection is supposed to be the work of six authors, the *scriptores* (Spartianus, Gallicanus, Capitolinus, Lampridius, Pollio, and Vopiscus), but in the view of some critics this is doubted.

Eutropius: *Breviarium Historiae Romanae.* Ten books carrying the history from the founding of Rome to the beginning of the reign of Valens (364-378).

Sextus Aurelius Victor: *Historia Romana.* This is a collection of four small historical works written during the fourth century and ascribed to Victor. Two of these, one a recapitulation of the other, give brief accounts of the emperors.

Herodianus: *History.* This work relates events between the death of Marcus Aurelius and the accession of Gordianus III (180-238).

Most Roman histories written by modern authors contain some accounts of the affairs in Alexandria. Notable in this respect is Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* 5 Vols., 1776-1788. Few works, however, have been devoted exclusively to Egyptian history during the rule of the Romans. The following are notable exceptions:

J. G. Milne: *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule.* London, 1898; 3rd edition, 1924, xxiii + 319 pp.

U. Wilcken: *Observationis ad historiam Egypti Proviniae Romanae. 1885.*

While it is not difficult to see how the succession of emperors has been preserved in classical documents, one is astonished to observe that the names and dates of the prefects who ruled Egypt have been recorded also. If the reader is curious about this matter, he can find the information in the treatise of Milne mentioned above.

The story of Queen Zenobia is one of the notable passages in Gibbon's *History.* This, however, he recapitulated from the original account in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae.*

The history of the development of the Christian Church, which is briefly treated in this chapter, is derived principally from sources other than those which have been recorded above. These authorities will be given later. Much secular history is derived from these records. Thus, it is interesting to note that the facts relating to the Alexandrian plague during the reign of Gallienus are given by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History,* vii, 21.

Little has been said in this volume about the economic affairs of Alexandria. The subject is one of considerable magnitude and involves technical considerations. The author in a recently published volume on *Political Statistics* (1954) has reviewed the problem extensively, particularly with respect to the inflations of Ptolemy Auletes (c. 80 B. C.) and of the Emperor Diocletian (c. 300 A.D.).The famous edict of Diocletian, issued in 301, shows that a bushel of wheat which sold from 2 to 5 denarii in the time of Augustus Caesar, was now sold for 400 denarii. Since the drachma of Egypt was tied to the denarius of Rome, the inflation also prevailed in Alexandria. The attempt of the emperor to stabilize prices by fiat proved to be a failure, as such adventures always have been. By 350 wheat had reached the dizzy height of something under a million denarii per bushel. Excellent accounts of the economic affairs of Rome and Egypt will be found in the following sources:

(1) A. C. Johnson: *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian.* Baltimore, 1936, x + 732 pp., Vol. 2 of *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome.*

(2) Tenny Frank: *Rome and Italy of the Empire.* Baltimore, 1940, xvi + 445 pp., Vol. 5 of *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome.*

(3) A Segré: (a) *Circolozione monetaria e prezzi nel mondo antico ed in particolare in Egitto.* Rome, 1922, 175 pp.

(b) *Metrologia e circolazione monetaria degli antichi.* Bologna, 1928, xiv + 546 pp.

(c) "The Ptolemaic Copper Inflation C. A. 230-140 B. C.," *American Journal of Philology,* Vol. 63, 1942, pp. 174-197.

Since the Emperor Hadrian spent some time in Alexandria comments relating to his activities there are of special interest. Thus Spartianus, one of the *Scriptores,* in his life of Hadrian, says: (*Vita,* 20, 2): "To them [the teachers of the Museum] he propounded many questions, and himself solved the problems which he had proposéd." He bestowed professorships on wandering sophists who were "not required even to reside, much less to lecture, but only lent the glory of their names to the Museum in return for their salaries."

The following letter is found in the *Life of Saturninus* by Vopiscus, which purports to have been sent by Hadrian to his brother-in-law, Lucius Julius Ursus Servianus. Although of doubtful authenticity, the letter is of sufficient interest to be recorded here:

"So you praise Egypt, my very dear Servianus! I know the land from top to bottom, a fickle, tricky land, blown about by every wind of rumor. In it the worshipers of Serapis are Christians, and those who call themselves Bishops of Christ pay their vows to Serapis. There is no ruler of a Jewish synagogue, no Samaritan, no Christian presbyter, who is not an astrologer, a soothsayer, a quack. Whenever the patriarch comes to Egypt he is made to worship Serapis by some and Christ by others.

"The men are a most seditious, addle-pated, riotous crew. The city

[Alexandria] is rich, prosperous, productive. There is not an idle person in it. Some are glass makers, others paper manufacturers, others linen weavers. Every one seems to have some trade and is supposed to have one. The gouty are busy; the blind are energetic; not even hands crippled by gout keep the victim from an active life. They all have one and the same God, – money. Christians adore Him, Jews worship Him, all the Gentiles give Him adoration. It is a pity that the city does not have better morals. For its productivity certainly makes it deserve the reputation which its very size gives it, that of the first city in Egypt.

"I have made the city every possible concession. I restored its old privileges, and I gave the citizens new ones so bountifully that while I was actually there they paid me thanks! No sooner was my back turned than they began saying many things against my son Verus, – and what they have said about Antinous I think you know. My one wish for them is that they may have to eat their own fowls. How they fatten these I blush to repeat."

For a more extended account of the life of Hadrian the reader is referred to B. W. Henderson: *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, New York, 1923, xi + 304 pp. Recently a fictional work entitled *Hadrian's Memoirs* (1955) by Marguerite Yourcenar has revived interest in the life of this emperor.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 12.

Because of its intimate connection with the development of the Christian Church, the subject of Neoplatonism has been reviewed in numerous commentaries. The lives and the teachings of the individual philosophers have been elaborately investigated and the resulting bibliography, if completely given, would be a large one. Most works on *Philosophy* and the *History of Philosophy* contain chapters on the Neoplatonists and the Neopythagoreans.

During the first half of the nineteenth century there was great activity in this domain, which resulted in such books as the following:

(1) A. F. Gfrörer: *Philo und die Alexandrinische Theosophie.* 2 vols. 1835.

(2) J. Matter: *Histoire de l'école d'Alexandrie.* 1st ed., 2 vols., Paris; 2nd ed., 3 vols., 1840-1844.

(3) Jules Simon: *Histoire de l'école d'Alexandrie.* 2 vols., 1844-1845.

(4) E. Vacherot: *Histoire critique de l'école d'Alexandrie.* 3 vols., Paris, 1846-1851.

(5) Charles Kingsley: *Alexandria and her Schools.* 1854.

The subject has not lost its appeal for the philosophers of more recent times, however, as is evident from the following works:

(6) C. Bigg (a) *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria.* Oxford, 1887.
(b) *Neoplatonism.* New York, 1895, 355 pp.

(7) T. Whittaker: *The Neoplatonists.* Cambridge, 1901; 2nd ed. 1918 and 1928, xv + 318 pp.

(8) R. M. Jones: *Studies in Mystical Religion.* 1909, 518 pp.

(9) F. Uberweg: *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie der Altertums.* Berlin, 1920. Vol. 1.

(10): H. A. Wolfson: *Philo.* Cambridge, Mass., 2 vols., 1947, 993 pp.

In addition to these the reader is referred to the scholarly articles on "Plotinus," "Porphyry," etc. in the Pauly-Wissowa: *Realencyclopädie.* The fundamental ancient source, of course, is the actual work of the philosophers themselves. Numerous editions of Plato's *Timaeus* exist and adequate editions of Philo and the principal Neoplatonists are available.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 13.

For comments on the "Romance of Alexander," see the Notes on Chapter 2.

An excellent edition of Philostratus: *Life of Apollonius of Tyana,* translated by F. C. Conybeare, is available in two volumes in the Loeb Classical Library.

The principal ancient authorities on the development of the Christian Church are the ecclesiastical histories written by authors who lived for the most part in the fourth and fifth centuries. These histories are available in a notable encyclopedia: *A Select Library of Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers,* published in 28 volumes in 1886 and later.

The following histories were consulted in the preparation of this and the next chapter.

(1) Eusebius (of Caesarea) (c. 260-c. 340): *History of the Christian Church,* in 10 volumes, published in 324 or 325. Also the *Chronicle* in two books.

(2) Socrates (fifth century): *Ecclesiastical History,* in seven books, covering the period from 306 to 439.

(3) Sozomen (fifth century, c. 400-443): *Ecclesiastical History,* c. 440. Its nine books cover the period from 323 to 423.

(4) Theodoret (c 386-c. 458): *Church History,* in five books, covering the period from 324 to 429.

Eusebius also wrote the *Life of Constantine* in four books after the death of the emperor in 337.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 14.

In addition to the records given in the ecclesiastical histories cited in the Notes on Chapter 13, the following modern references are of interest in connection with the life of Athanasius and the Arian controversy which dominated it:

E. Schwartz: "Zur Geschichte des Athanasius," *Nach. der könig. Gesellschaft der Wissen. zu Göttingen,* 1904 and later.

H. M. Gwatkin: *Studies of Arianism.* 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1900.

A. Harnack: *History of Dogma.* English Translation, 1894-1899.

J. F. Bethune-Baker: *An Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine.* London, 1903.

W. Bright: *The Age of the Fathers.* London, 1903.

Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Chapters 15, 16, 20-23, 27, 28.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 15.

The primary sources used in this chapter are the works of the authors themselves. For some of these there are numerous editions available, as in the case of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives,* which has been a favorite work for centuries. One of the most useful modern authorities on the subject matter of this chapter is J. C. Dunlop's *History of Prose Fiction.* This remarkable treatise, first published in London in 1814, was produced in a revised edition in two volumes by H. Wilson in 1888.

The following random comments about the editions of the works of some of the authors may be of interest to the reader:

The first printed edition of Lucian appeared in Florence in 1496. An extensive critical edition was published by H. W. and F. G. Fowler at Oxford in 1905. The Greek text with a translation by A. M. Harmon is available in the Loeb Classical Library.

The Latin text and the translation by W. Adlington (1566), revised by S. Gaselee (1915) of Lucius Apuleius: *The Golden Ass* is available in the Loeb Classical Library.

Achilles Tatius: *The Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon.* Translation by S. Gaselee. (Loeb).

Heliodorus: *Ethiopica.* Translation of T. Underdowne (1587) with an introduction by Charles Whibley. London, 1895.

The first edition of Longus: *Daphnis and Chloe* appeared in French in 1559, the work of Jacque Amyot, bishop of Auxerre. Many editions, some beautifully illustrated, have appeared since then. The Loeb edition contains the translation of G. Thornly, revised by J. M. Edmonds.

The first printed edition of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* appeared in 1572 under the editorship of H. Stephanus. A modern edition with Greek text is available in the Loeb Classical Library, translated by B. Perrin. Another translation, originally by P. Holland (1603) and revised by C. W. King and A. R. Shilleto (1882-1888) is in Bohn's Classical Library.

In this chapter the broad humor of Lucian has been compared with that of Mark Twain. It is interesting to observe, however, that there is no mention of the Greek author in A. B. Payne's *Life of Mark Twain,* or in the *Autobiography* or the *Note Book* of the American humorist. Lucian has also been compared with Voltaire in an article by E. Egger: "Parallèle de Lucien et Voltaire," in *Mémoires de littérature ancienne,* 1862. But in reading Lucian one has the feeling that the wit of the Greek and his thrusts at contemporary foibles lacked the satyrical barbs which often appear in the work of the great Frenchman and which are singularly lacking in the kindlier humor of Mark Twain.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 16.

A Latin translation of Diophantus was published by W. Holzmann in Basel in 1575. A Greek edition appeared under the editorship of C. G. Bachet in Paris in 1621 and German translations were made by O. Schultz in 1822 and by G. Wertheim in 1890. The definitive Greek edition was published by P. Tannery, Vol. 1, 1893 and Vol. 2, 1895.

The most authoritative work on Diophantus is the treatise of T. L. Heath: *Diophantus of Alexandria. A Study in the History of Greek Algebra.* Cambridge, 1885.

Works which describe the achievements of Diophantus, as well as those of other Alexandrian mathematicians, include the following:

M. Cantor: *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik.* Leipzig, Vols. 1, 2, 3, 1880-1898; Vol. 4, 1908. In particular, Vol. 1.

T. L. Heath: *A Manual of Greek Mathematics.* Oxford, 1931, 552 pp.

G. H. F. Nesselmann: *Die Algebra der Greichen.* Berlin, 1842.

G. Loria: *Le Scienze esatte nell' antica Grecia.* Vol. 5, Modena, 1902, pp. 95-158.

Florian Cajori: *A History of Mathematics.* New York, 1919.

G. Sarton: *Introduction to the History of Science.* Carnegie Institution, Vol. 1, 1927.

A description of the symbolism used by Diophantus in his *Arithmetica* will be found in Cajori's *A History of Mathematical Notations,* Vol. 1, 1928, pp. 71-74.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 17.

Since the story of Hypatia has become a classic and was expanded by Charles Kingsley into his long novel: *Hypatia,* it is instructive to see the exact account from which our information is derived. This is found in Chapter 15, Book 7, of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates, which runs as follows:

CHAPTER XV. OF HYPATIA, THE FEMALE PHILOSOPHER

"There was a woman at Alexandria named Hypatia, daughter of the philosopher Theon, who made such attainments in literature and science, as to far surpass all the philosophers of her own time. Having succeeded to the school of Plato and Plotinus, she explained the principles of philosophy to her auditors, many of whom came from a distance to receive her instructions. On account of the self-possession and ease of manner, which she had acquired in consequence of the cultivation of her mind, she not infrequently appeared in public in the presence of the magistrates. Neither did she feel abashed in coming to an assembly of men. For all men on account of her extraordinary dignity and virtue admired her the more.

"Yet even she fell a victim to the political jealousy which at that time prevailed. For as she had frequent interviews with Orestes, it was calumniously reported among the Christian populace, that it was she who prevented Orestes from being reconciled to the bishop. Some of them, therefore, hurried away by a fierce and bigoted zeal, whose ringleader was a reader named Peter, waylaid her returning home, and dragging her from her carriage, they took her to the church called *Caesareum*, where they completely stripped her, and then murdered her with tiles. [*δστράκις*, literally 'oystershells,' but the word also meant brick tiles used on roofs].

"After tearing her body in pieces, they took her mangled limbs to a place called Cinaron, and there burnt them. This affair brought much opprobrium, not only upon Cyril, but also upon the whole Alexandrian church. And certainly nothing can be further from the spirit of Christianity than the allowance of massacres, fights, and transactions of that sort. This happened in the month of Cyril's episcopate, under the tenth consulate of Honarius, and the sixth of Theodosius [415 A. D.]."

Other information about Hypatia is of a tenuous character. Thus Suidas in his *Greek Lexicon* states that Hypatia was the author of commentaries on the *Arithmetica* of Diophantus, on the *Conics* of Apollonius, and the astronomy of Ptolemy. Since Suidas probably lived in the latter part of the tenth century, his information was not derived from contemporary sources and was not always reliable. He asserts, for example, that Hypatia was the wife of Isidorus, the last of the Neoplatonic philosophers. But this was chronologically impossible, since Isidorus flourished during the latter part of the fifth century.

Hypatia was also the subject of an epigram by Palladas in the Greek *Anthology* (ix, 400), and some letters to her from Synesius, Bishop of Ptolmais, are extant. A *Life of Synesius*, London, 1901, was published by W. S. Crawford.

In our history of Alexandria we have treated quite cursorily the question of Hellenistic art, although some evidence was given in Chapter 1 to show that it must have flourished in the golden city under the patronage of the Ptolemies. Time, however, has effaced the physical records, although evidence of Alexandrian influence has been observed in the art of Rome. Did artists ply their trade in the later days of the city under the influence of the Church? The discovery of an angel's head of surprising beauty in excavations of the ancient church of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome has been advanced as an illustration of the effect of Alexandria upon early Christian art. See, for example, Myrtilla Avery: "The Alexandrian Style at Santa Maria Antiqua," *Art Bulletin,* VII, 1925, pp. 131-149. For a history of this subject with extended commentary the reader is referred to a recent work by C. R. Morey: *Early Christian Art,* Princeton, 1942, ix + 288 p. The author includes 70 plates, some of which illustrate Alexandrian influence.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 18.

The primary ancient source is the *Koran* itself. An English translation was published by G. Sale in 1876: *The Koran: commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed.* 8th edition, 1906. The Arabic text with an English translation has been made available by Mauli Muhammad Ali in *The Holy Qur-án,* 2nd ed., 1920, cxv + 1275 pp.

Modern authorities on the history of Mohammed (also Mahomet) and the Moslem conquest include the following:

(1) Washington Irving: *Mahomet and His Successors.* London, 1849. This very readable work was based upon the following:

(2) G. Weil: *Muhammed der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre.* Stuttgart, 1843.

(3) Sir William Muir: *Life of Mohamet.* 4 Vols., London, 1856-61. Issued in abridged edition, 1912, cxix + 556 pp.

(4) P. K. Hitti: *History of the Arabs.* 3rd ed., London, 1946, xix + 767 pp.

(5) Alfred J. Butler: *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Domination.* Oxford, 1902.

INDEXES

INDEX OF NAMES

Abd al Muttalib, 446.
Abdullah, 446.
Abraham, 325, 334-335.
Abu Becker, 451, 454-456, 463.
Abu Jahl, 453, 455, 459.
Abu Lahab, 450.
Abulfaragius, (See Barhebraeus).
Abu Sofian, 455, 458.
Abu Taleb, 448, 450, 454.
Achillas, 239-241, 246-247, 250.
Achillas, Bishop, 356.
Adams, Francis, 488.
Adlington, W., 498.
Adrian (See Hadrian).
Aemilianus, (prefect), 300.
Aemilius, L. Paullus, 192.
Aesopus, 328.
Agathocleia, 139, 145-149.
Agathocles, 139-140, 145-149.
Agathocles, (stepson of Arsinoe II), 31.
Agathodaemon, 195.
Agrippa, 267, 281, 282, 288-289.
Albinus, Claudius, 300.
Alcaeus, 78.
Alcibiades, 237.
Alexander, (son of Alexander the Great), 122.
Alexander, Bishop, 355-357, 360, 363.
Alexander of Aetolia, 17, 81.
Alexander the Great, Chap. 2, 21, 81, 121, 123-125, 291, 302, 325, 327-331, 337, 342, 403, 405, 436, 479-481.
Alexander Helios, 128, 264, 274, 278.
Alexander of Molossia, (brother of Olympias), 46.
Alexander the Paphlagonian, (prophet), 384-386.
Alexander Severus, Emperor, 286.
Alexander of Syria, 268.
Ali, 450, 455, 463.
Ali, Mauli Muhammad, 501.
Al-Mamun, 469.
Amelius, 316.
Ammianus Marcellinus, 477.
Ammonius, (monk), 439.
Ammonius, (teacher of Plutarch), 403.
Ammonius Saccus, 315, 316.
Amru, 451-452, 464-466, 468.
Amthor, 485-486.
Amun, (monk), 369-370.
Amyhia, 59-60.
Amyntas, King of Macedonia, (Alexander's grandfather), 43.
Amyot, Jacque, 498.
Anacreon, 78, 87.
Anastasius I, Emperor, 287.
Andon, 153.
Andreas, (physician to Ptolemy IV), 141.
Anthony, St., (hermit), 364-370.
Antigonus I, 122, 123, 125, 126.

Antigonus II Gonatas, 83, 132, 220.
Antigonus of Carystus, 198.
Antinoüs, 293, 495.
Antiochus II of Syria, 132.
Antiochus III, the Great, 128, 140-142, 150.
Antiochus IV, 151-154.
Antipater, 123, 128.
Antonius Felix, 128.
Antonius Pius, Emperor, 286, 405.
Antony, Marc, 128, 237, 238, 247, 252, 254-278, 285, 417, 418.
Antyllus, 269.
Apama, 128.
Apelles, 28-29, 33, 40, 74.
Apellicon of Teos, 18, 479.
Apemantus, 237.
Apollodorus, 242, 245.
Apollonius of Perga, 114, 427, 500.
Apollonius of Rhodes, 82, 86, 89-94, 97, 332, 375.
Apollonius of Tyana, 303, 325, 335-341, 342.
Appian, 405, 491.
Apuleius, Lucius, 388, 498.
Aquinus, St. Thomas, 319.
Aratus, 83, 87, 103, 182, 226, 490.
Aratus, (of Achaen League), 136.
Arcadius, Emperor, 287.
Arcesilaus, 179.
Archelaus, 159.
Archimedes, Chap. 4, 80, 202, 221, 223, 225, 228, 229, 318, 411, 414, 421, 482-486, 490.
Aristander, (soothsayer), 37, 55, 58.
Aristarchus of Samos (astronomer), 102-105, 108, 221-224, 228, 229, 421, 443, 490.
Aristarchus of Samothrace, 79.
Aristeas, 130, 487.
Aristides, Aelius, 405.
Aristides of Miletus, 389.
Aristippus, 179.
Aristobulus, 131, 312, 327, 480.
Aristocles, 197.
Aristomenes, 148-150.
Ariston of Chios, 181.
Aristophanes of Byzantium, 78-79.
Aristotle, 18, 43-44, 57, 64, 79, 315, 317, 320, 323, 330, 353, 479.
Aristoxenus, 40.
Aristyllus, 98, 103.
Arius, 355-363.
Arrabaeus, 38.
Arrian, 121, 122, 405, 480.
Arruntius, 267.
Arsenius, Bishop, 361-362.
Arsinoe I, (1st wife of Philadelphus), 21, 30-32, 35, 75, 95, 97, 128, 129.
Arsinoe II, (2nd wife of Philadelphus), 128, 129, 130.
Arsinoe III, (wife of Ptolemy IV), 128, 141, 145-146.
Arsinoe IV, (daughter of Ptolemy XIII), 128, 241, 246-247.
Artabazus, 121.
Artacama, Princess, 121.
Athanasius, Bishop, Chap. 14, 421, 423, 427.
Athemius, Emperor, 287.

Athenaeus, 1, 12, 15, 21, 23, 30, 32, 44, 97, 133, 135, 142-143, 152, 153, 157, 197-198, 232, 258, 404, 477, 479, 480, 482, 486.
Athenodorus, 302.
Attalus, 67.
Attalus I, King of Pergamum, 114.
Attulus, 46, 47.
Augustine, St., 173, 319, 324.
Augustulus Romulus, Emperor, 287.
Augustus Caesar, Gaius Octavius, (Octavian), 85, 190, 249, 257, 258, 262-282, 326, 405, 418.
Aurelian, Emperor, 286, 302-305.
Avery, Myrtilla, 501.
Avitus, Emperor, 287.
Ayesha, 454-455, 462.

Bachet, C. G., 499.
Balacius, 369.
Balbinus, Emperor, 286.
Baldwin, R. B., 478.
Ball, W. W. R., 483.
Banks, J., 482.
Barhebraeus, 466, 467.
Barsaentes, 62-63.
Barsine, 70.
Beloch, K. J., 477.
Berenice I, (wife of Soter), 11, 20, 25, 35, 128.
Berenice II, (wife of Ptolemy III), 128, 132-135, 139.
Berenice III, (wife of Ptolemy XI), 128, 157.
Berenice IV, (daughter of Ptolemy XIII), 128, 159.
Berenice, (sister of Ptolemy III), 133.
Berenice, (daughter of Ptolemy III), 138.
Berve, H., 481.
Bessel, F. W., 223.
Bessus, 62.
Bethune-Baker, J. F., 497.
Bigg, C., 496.
Bion, 75.
Birt, Theodor, 479.
Boëtius, 320.
Bogus, King, 189.
Botti, G., 6, 478.
Botticelli, Sandro, 30, 33.
Bouche-Leclercq, A., 486.
Brahe, Tycho, 410.
Bright, W., 497.
Brock, A. J., 488.
Brutus, Marcus, 241, 253, 256, 258.
Budge, Sir Ernest A. W., 477, 481, 486.
Bunbury, E. H., 489.
Bury, J. D., 481.
Butler, A. J., 501.

Caesar, Julius, 128, 160, 234-235, 238, 240-254, 280, 403, 405, 418, 491.
Caesarion, (Ptolemy XVI), 128, 239, 249, 266, 269.
Cajori, Florian, 499.
Caligula, Emperor, 274, 286, 288-289, 311, 406.
Callicrates, 32.
Callimachus, 12, 17, 73, 80, 82-93, 97, 113, 179, 238, 375.

Callisthenes, 64-65, 327, 480-481.
Callixeinus of Rhodes, 21, 26, 142, 479.
Calpurnia, 249, 253.
Canopus, (pilot), 7.
Cantor, M., 499.
Capitolinus, 492.
Caracalla, Emperor, 286, 296-297, 326.
Caranus, 46.
Carinus, Emperor, 286.
Carneades, 179.
Carus, Emperor, 286.
Cassander, 123, 125, 126.
Cassandra, 81.
Cassius, Avidus, 293, 297-298.
Cassius, Gaius, 253, 256, 258.
Casson, Anthony de, 479.
Catherine, St. of Alexandria, 441.
Catiline, 254.
Cato, 158-159.
Catullus, 86, 134.
Celsus, Aurelius (or Aulus) Cornelius, 171-173, 488.
Chaerephon, 84.
Champollion, Jean F., 150.
Chares of Lindus, 3.
Charlemagne, 443.
Charmion, 274.
Charton of Aphridisia, 389.
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 328.
Chosroës II, King of Persia, 460-462.
Chrysostom, St. John, 427-428, 434.
Chrysostum, Dion, 405.
Christ, 325, 341-345.
Cicero, 101, 113, 159, 229, 250, 254, 258, 403.
Claudius, Emperor, 286, 290, 311, 480.
Claudius II, Emperor, 286.
Cleanthes, 222-223.
Clement, 343-344, 354.
Cleomenes, (comptroller of Nile), 122.
Cleomenes, king of Sparta, 139-140.
Cleopatra I, 128; II, 128.
Cleopatra III, 128, 151, 155-156, 189.
Cleopatra IV, 128, 156; V, 128; VI, 128.
Cleopatra VII, Chap. 10, 31, 128, 160, 235, 277-278, 285, 301, 303, 417, 418.
Cleopatra, (Alexander's sister), 46, 125.
Cleopatra, (wife of Philip II), 46-47.
Cleopatra, (wife of Ptolemy V), 150-151.
Cleopatra Selene, 128, 265, 274, 278.
Clitarchus, 480.
Clitus, 39, 50, 64.
Clodius, 254.
Columbus, Christopher, 196.
Commodus, Emperor, 176, 286, 297, 299, 404.
Conon, 80, 97, 101, 103, 106, 109, 117, 133-134.
Constans I, Emperor, 286, 363, 370.
Constans II, Emperor, 287.
Constantia, 357.

Constantine the Great, Emperor, 284, 286, 348, 357, 358-363.
Constantine II, Emperor, 287, 363-364.
Constantine III, Emperor, 287.
Constantius I, Emperor, 286.
Constantius II, Emperor, 286, 347-349, 350-353, 370-372.
Conybeare, F. C., 496.
Copernicus, 221-222, 233.
Cornelia, (wife of Pompey), 240.
Craterus, 67, 68.
Crawford, W. S., 500.
Creticua, Antonius, 254.
Crinagoras, 85.
Ctesibius, 23, 98, 110, 197-199, 215-216, 439.
Cummings, L. V., 481.
Curio, 254.
Curtius Rufus, Quintus, 480.
Cyrano de Bergerac, 387.
Cyril, Bishop, 322, 434-440.
Cyrus, King, 69-70.

Damnis, 335, 340.
Danae, (mistress of Sophon), 133.
Danae, (mother-in-law of Tlepolemus, 147.
Darius III, King of Persia, 44, 48, 50, 52-53, 57-58, 60-62, 69, 70, 330, 461.
Darwin, Erasmus, 211-212.
Decius, Emperor, 286, 305-307.
Demetrius, (member of Alexander's guard), 121.
Demetrius, Bishop, 345.
Demetrius I, Poliorcetes, King of Macedonia, 2, 14, 124-126.
Demetrius II, King of Macedonia, 155.
Demetrius, the Fair, son of Demetrius the Besieger, 132.
Demetrius Phalereus, 14, 130-131.
Democritus, 167.
Demosthenes, 48, 49, 122, 377, 381, 403.
Descartes, René, 114.
Dinocrates, 55.
Dio Cassius, 159, 247, 258, 292, 293, 296, 298, 405, 491, 492.
Diocles, 225.
Diocletian, Emperor, 286, 305, 307, 308, 341, 353, 354, 356, 368.
Diodorus, (minister of Bishop George), 349.
Diodorus Siculus, 38, 60, 128, 480.
Diogenes, Antonius, 389.
Diogenes, (secretary of Constantine II), 372.
Diogenes Laertius, 222.
Diomede, 271.
Dionysius, Bishop, 306.
Dionysius of Helicarnassus, 405.
Dionysodorus, (shipping merchant), 122.
Dionysodorus of Melos, (geometer), 225.
Diophantus, Chap. 16, 277, 427, 469-470, 499-500.
Discorides, 242.
Domitian, Emperor, 286, 340, 406.
Domitianus, Lucius Domitius (Achilleus), 305.
Domna, Empress Julia, 335.

Dositheus, 98, 113, 116, 117.
Dracontius, 349.
Drusilla, 128.
Drusus, 281.
Dryden, John, 244.
Dunlop, J. C., 400, 497.
Dyscolus, Apollonius, 405.

Edmonds, J. M., 482, 498.
Edward VIII of England, 284.
Egger, E., 498.
Eleazar, 130-131.
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 236.
Erasistratus, 97-98, 172-173.
Eratosthenes, 80-81, 93, 97-98, 102, 108, 136, 178-188, 190, 191, 194-195, 221, 225, 421, 469, 486.
Erigyius, 41.
Eros, 271.
Euclid, 13-17, 83, 171, 218, 226, 318, 323, 411-412, 414, 421, 422, 468, 470.
Euclides of Megara, 76.
Eudemus, (anatomist), 97-98, 110, 173.
Eudemus, (philosopher), 175.
Eudoxus of Cnidus, 83, 102, 188-190, 226, 229, 489-490.
Euoptius, 437
Eupompus, 28.
Euripides, 22.
Eurycles, 268.
Eurydice, 129.
Eusebius of Caesarea, 306, 341, 343, 345, 354, 358-359, 478, 493, 497.
Eusebius of Nicomedia, 357-360, 363, 370-371.
Eustochius,316.
Eutocius, 483
Eutropius, 492.

Fabius, Maximus Aemilianus, 192.
Fallaki, Mahmud Bey el, 477.
Faraday, Michael, 220.
Fatima, 454.
Faustina, (wife of Marcus Aurelius), 297.
Fermat, Pierre de, 412-413.
Firmus, 304.
Flavia, 262-264, 269.
Fowler, F. G., 498.
Fowler, H. W., 498.
Fowler, Ward, 492.
France, Anatole, 364-366.
Frank, Tenny, 494.

Gabinius, 159-160, 242, 255.
Galba, Emperor, 286, 294.
Galen, 171, 173-177, 232, 277, 488.
Galerius, Emperor, 286, 307.
Galileo, 220, 222.
Gallicanus, 492.
Gallienus, Emperor, 286, 300, 316.
Gallus, Emperor, 286.
Gallus, (envoy to Caesar), 272.
Gallus, Aelius, (prefect), 191, 288.
Gallus, Cornelius, (prefect), 285.
Ganymedes, 247, 250.
Gardthausen, V., 492.
Garrison, F. H., 176, 488.
Gaselee, S., 498.
Gay, John, 488.

George, Bishop, (the Cappadocian), 349-353.
George, St., 350-351.
Geta, Emperor, 286, 296.
Gfrörer, A. F., 495.
Gibbon, Edward, 19, 301, 303, 351, 372, 426, 427, 430, 493, 497.
Glaucus, 70.
Glycerius, Emperor, 287.
Gordianus I, Emperor, 286.
Gordianus II, Emperor, 286.
Gordianus III, Emperor, 286, 315.
Gorgias, (Alexander's general), 67.
Gorgias of Leontini, (philosopher), 167.
Gorgius, 51.
Gratian, Emperor, 287.
Gregory of Cappadocia, 370, 371.
Gregory XIII, Pope, 235.
Grenfell, B. P., 487.
Grote, G., 481.
Gwatkin, H. M., 497.

Hadrian, Emperor, 174, 232, 286, 293, 405.
Halley, Edmond, 231.
Harmon, A. M., 498.
Harnack, A., 497.
Harpalus, 41.
Harum al-Rashid, 468.
Harvey, William, 172.
Hashim, 445-446.
Heath, Sir Thomas L., 13, 198, 482, 490, 499.
Hedylus, 197.
Hegesias, 40.
Heiberg, J. H., 483.
Heliodorus, Avidius, (prefect), 298.
Heliodorus, (novelist), 389, 397-398, 498.
Heliogabalus, Emperor, 286.
Henderson, B. W., 495.
Hephaeston, 70-71.
Heracleides, 117.
Heraclides, (father of Hippocrates), 167.
Heraclitus, 312.
Heraclius, Emperor, 287, 460-461, 463-465.
Hercules, (son of Alexander the Great), 125.
Hermolaus, 64.
Hero (Heron), Chap. 8, 443, 489-490.
Herodianus, 493.
Herodicus of Seymbria, 167.
Herophilus, 171-172, 173.
Hesiod, 78.
Hierax, 435-436.
Hiero, King, 74, 80, 95, 99, 109.
Hierocles, 315, 341.
Hieronymus, 38.
Hipparchus, 98, 105, 194, 198, 199, 221, 225-229, 231-233, 323, 421, 422, 443, 490.
Hippocrates, 74, 162-163, 167-172, 173, 176-177, 488.
Hitti, P. K., 501.
Hody, H., 487.
Hogarth, D. G., 481.
Holland, P., 498.
Holzmann, W., 499.
Homer, 49, 54, 77-79, 86-88, 162, 181-182, 270, 301, 336, 353, 376.

Honorius, Emperor, 287.
Horace, 12, 278, 282.
Hudson, W. H., 400.
Hypatia, Chap. 17, 179, 322, 409.
Hypsicles, 226.

Iamblichus, (Neoplatonist), 315, 320-321, 324.
Iamblichus of Syria, (novelist), 389.
Iotapa of Medea, 274.
Iras, 274.
Irving, Washington, 501.
Ischyras, 361.
Isidore, 427-428.

Jerome, St., 320, 487.
John the Grammarian, 467.
Johnson, A. C., 493.
Jones, R. M., 496.
Jones, W. H. S., 488.
Jonson, Ben, 336.
Josephus, 2, 124, 291, 405-406, 478, 480, 487.
Jovian, Emperor, 286, 373-374.
Juba, King of Mauretania, 128, 274.
Juba, King of Numidia, 250.
Julia, (daughter of Augustus), 282.
Julian, Emperor, 286, 347-349, 351, 357, 373-374.
Julianus, Didius, 299.
Justin, 132, 480.
Justin I, Emperor, 232, 287.
Justin II, Emperor, 287.
Justinian I, the Great, Emperor, 287.

Keats, John, 75.
Kepler, Johannes, 115.
Khadija, 448-450, 454-455.
al-Khowarizmi, Mohammed ibn-Musa, 469-470.
Kierpert, H., 477.
King, C. W., 498.
Kingsley, Charles, 17, 432-433, 477, 496, 499.
Kühn, C. G., 488.

Labienus, 263-264.
Lachares, 268.
Laenas, (See Popilius).
Lagas, 37, 56, 121, 128.
Lampridius, 492.
Langer, R. E., 482.
Laodice, 133.
Lee, Oliver, 478.
Leibniz, Gottfried, 116, 317.
Lentulus, Cornelius, 254.
Lentulus, Lucius, 240.
Leo the Great, Emperor, 287.
Leochardes, 18.
Leonidas, (foster father of Alexander), 43.
Leonidas, (father of Origen), 344.
Lepidus, 257.
Livia, 273.
Livy, 301, 487.
Loeb, James, 482.
Longinus, Cassius, 303-304, 315, 319.
Longus, 389, 400, 498.
Loria, G., 499.
Louis XIV, King of France, 129.
Lucan, 491.
Lucian of Antioch, 356-357.
Lucian, 29, 33, 232, 237-238, 275-288, 498.

Lucretius, 83, 212.
Lumbroso, G., 477, 487.
Lycophron of Chales, 17, 81-82.
Lycortas, 192.
Lysimachus, (uncle of Ptolemy IV), 139.
Lysimachus, King of Thrace, 31, 43, 123, 125-126, 128-129.
Lysippus, 40.

Macarius, 361.
Macrinus, Emperor, 286.
Maecenus, Gaius Cilnius, 281-282.
Magas, King of Cyrene, 125, 128, 132.
Magas, (brother of Philopator), 120, 128, 139.
Mahaffy, J. P., 6, 477, 478, 481, 486.
Mair, A. W., 482.
Majorianus, Emperor, 287.
Marcella, (wife of Porphyry), 319.
Marcellus, Marcus Claudius, (General), 85, 110-111, 118-119.
Marcian, Emperor, 287.
Marcus Aurelius, Emperor, 175-176, 229, 286, 293, 297-299, 375-376, 378, 385.
Marie, M., 490.
Mark, St., 343.
Matter, J., 495.
Maurice, Emperor, 287.
Maximus, Emperor, 286, 427.
Maximus, Petronius, Emperor, 287.
Maxwell, James Clerk, 220.
Mazaces, 54.
Meacham, H. G., 487.
Medius, 72.
Meleager, 67.
Meletius of Lycopolis, 356.
Memnon of Rhodes, 50-51.
Memphites, 155.
Menecles, 153.
Menedemus, 198.
Menelaus, (mathematician), 413.
Meton, 235.
Meyer, P. M., 486.
Midas, 51.
Milne, J. G., 493.
Mimnermus, 103.
Mithridates VI of Pontus, called the Great, 175-176.
Mithridates, (son of Mithridates the Great), 247-248.
Mnesis, 34.
Moeragenes, 147.
Mohammed, Chap. 18.
Mokaukas, 464-465.
Mommsen, T., 492.
Morey, C. R., 501.
Moschus, 75.
Muir, Sir William, 501.
Müller, Karl, 480.
Myrtion, 34-35.

Nabarazanes, 62.
Napoleon Bonaparte, 411, 442, 468.
Nearchus, 41, 69, 71-72, 337, 480.
Nebopollaser, 59.
Nebuchadnezzar, 59.
Nectanebus, King, 328-329.
Neleus, 18, 479.
Nepos, Julius, Emperor, 287.

Nero, Emperor, 274, 286, 289-290, 294, 305.
Neroutsos, T. D., 477.
Nerva, Emperor, 286, 335, 340.
Nesselmann, G. H. F., 499.
Newton, Sir Isaac, 115-116, 175, 220, 230-231.
Nicagoras, 139.
Nichomachus, 321-322.
Nico, 149.
Nicomedes, 225.
Nicon, (father of Galen), 174.
Nicostratus, 147.
Niketas, 461.
Nimrod, King, 334.
Numerianus, Emperor, 286.

Occam, William of, 319.
Octavia, 264-266, 273.
Octavius, Gaius; also Octavian. (See Augustus Caesar).
Odaenathus, 301.
Odoacer, King of Italy, 287.
Oeagrus, King, 331.
Oenanthe, 146-147, 149.
Olibius, Emperor, 287.
Olympias, 41, 46, 125, 329-330.
Olympius, 429.
Olympodorus, 322.
Omar ibn al Khattab, 453-454, 463-464, 467.
Othman ibn Affan, 453, 463.
Otho, Emperor, 286, 294.
Orestes, (prefect), 435-439.
Origen, Herennius, (Neoplatonist), 315.
Origen, (theologian), 304, 315, 344-345, 354-355.
Orpheus, 325, 330-335, 342.
Ovid, 91-92.
Oxyartes, 65-66.

Pamphilus, 28.
Pantaenus, 343.
Pappus, 198, 277, 414, 489.
Parmenio, 39, 41, 52-53, 58, 63, 64.
Parsons, E. A., 478-479.
Parthenius, 389.
Pausanias, (murderer of Philip II), 46.
Pausanias, (traveler), 405, 489.
Payne, A. B., 498.
Peirce, Charles Sanders, 114-115.
Perdiccas, 37-38, 72, 122-123, 167.
Perrin, B., 498.
Perseus, 225.
Pertinax, Emperor, 286, 299.
Pescennius Niger, 300.
Peter, Bishop, 354-356, 369.
Peter, the reader, 439-440.
Petrie, W. M. F., 486.
Petronius, Gaius, (prefect), 288.
Petronius, Publius, (governor of Syria), 289.
Pharion, 339.
Pharnakes, 250.
Pharnapetes, 264.
Phayllus, 59.
Phidias, 18, 377.
Philagrius, 370.
Philamon, 145, 149.
Philetas of Cos, 17, 74, 76-77.

Philip II, King of Macedonia, 28, 38, 41-47, 64, 71, 122, 327, 329-330.
Philip V, King of Macedonia, 150.
Philip Arrhidaeus, 40, 122, 125.
Philip, (the Arabian), Emperor, 286, 306, 336.
Philip, (physician to Alexander), 52.
Philip, (slave of Pompey), 240.
Philiscus, 21.
Philo of Byzantium, (scientist), 202-203.
Philo, (Neoplatonist), 131, 311-315, 321, 343, 487.
Philo, (brother of Agathocles), 148-149.
Philocrates, 130, 487.
Philostratus, 335-336, 341, 496.
Philotas, (son of Parmenio), 41, 63-64.
Philoxenus, 60.
Phocas, Emperor, 287.
Photius, 389.
Pindar, 49, 78, 87, 91, 302, 331.
Pinnes, 361.
Pistus, 370.
Plancus, Lucius, 262.
Plato, 16, 131, 180, 229, 264, 298, 301, 312-313, 315-316, 323, 330, 353, 403, 436.
Pliny, 2, 28-29, 32, 163-167, 176, 184-186, 199, 225, 235, 274, 478, 486, 488-490.
Plotinus, 315-321, 324, 326, 436.
Plutarch, 40, 43, 60, 85, 100, 110, 118, 139, 158, 199, 221, 236, 237, 244, 246, 253-254, 256, 258, 262, 267-268, 270, 273, 403, 480, 482, 486, 497-498.
Plutarch, (Neoplatonist), 322.
Poe, Edgar Allan, 186, 387.
Poincaré, Henri, 309.
Pollio, 492.
Polo, Marco, 328.
Polybius, 110, 120, 141, 145, 146, 148, 154, 191-194, 432, 482, 487-488.
Polycleitus, 377.
Polycrates, 142.
Polyperchon, 123, 125.
Pompey, 159, 176, 239-241, 249, 250, 256.
Popilius Laenas, Caius, 154.
Porphyry, 304, 315-316, 319-320.
Porus, King, 66-68, 330.
Poseidippus, 32.
Posidonius, 105, 152, 188, 190-191, 195, 221, 229-231, 489-490.
Potheine, 34.
Potheinus, 239, 241-242, 246, 250.
Praxiphanes, 12, 83.
Praxitelles, 18, 377.
Probus, Emperor, 286, 302, 304-305.
Proclus, 315, 321-324.
Procopius, 374.
Proculeuis, 272.
Proteas, 72.
Pseudo-Callisthenes, 327, 481.
Ptolemy I, (Soter), 1, 11, 14, 20, 25-26, 37, 56, 61, 121-129, 133, 136, 171, 284, 424, 478, 480, 486.

Ptolemy II, (Philadelphus), Chap. 1, 73-74, 76, 81, 83, 95-99, 120, 128-132, 136, 225, 304, 375, 416, 418, 478-479, 486.
Ptolemy III, (Euergetes I), 99, 114, 128, 132-138, 140, 178-179, 225, 487.
Ptolemy IV, (Philopator), 114, 120-121, 128, 138-145, 178, 288, 487.
Ptolemy V, (Epiphanes), 128, 145-151, 191-192, 487.
Ptolemy VI, (Eupator), 128, 151, 487.
Ptolemy VII, (Philometor), 79, 128, 151-156, 225-226, 312, 487.
Ptolemy VIII, (Neos Philopator), 128, 155, 487.
Ptolemy IX, (Euergetes II, also called Physkon), 79, 128, 152-156, 188, 191, 198-199, 212, 226, 487.
Ptolemy X, (Soter II), 128, 156, 157, 189, 487.
Ptolemy XI, (Alexander I), 128, 156, 487.
Ptolemy XII, (Alexander II), 128, 156-157, 487.
Ptolemy XIII, (Neos Dionysus, also called Auletes), 128, 157-160, 239, 240-241, 255, 284.
Ptolemy XIV, 128, 239, 241, 245-246, 248.
Ptolemy XV, 128, 248-249, 252.
Ptolemy XVI, (Caesarion), 128, 239, 249, 266, 269.
Ptolemy, King of Cyprus, 128.
Ptolemy, King of Mauretania, 128.
Ptolemy, (the Scarlet), 38.
Ptolemy, (son of Cleopatra), 265-266, 274.
Ptolemy, (son of Cleopatra Selene), 274.
Ptolemy Ceraunus, (the Thunderbolt), 14, 30-31, 129, 131.
Ptolemy, Claudius, 105, 193-196, 221, 227-228, 231-233, 277, 323, 421-425, 427, 443, 468, 470, 488-491, 500.
Publicola, 267.
Puchstein, O., 477.
Pupienus, Emperor, 286.
Pythagoras, 312-313, 316, 320-321, 382-384, 409.
Pytheas, 186.

Rabelais, F., 375.
Rabirius Postumus, 160.
Reynolds, Edward, 350.
Ritschl, F. W., 479.
Rostovtzeff, M., 477, 479, 486.
Roxana, 38, 66, 70, 72, 122, 125.

Salé, G., 501.
Salonia, (wife of Gallienus), 316.
Sappho, 87.
Sarton, G., 488, 499.
Satyrus, (dioketes), 4.
Sawda, 454.
Scellias, 268.
Schultz, O., 499.
Schwartz, E., 497.
Scipio Africanus, 152, 192.
Scotus, John Duns, 319.
Seaton, R. C., 482.

Segré, A., 494.
Selene, 128, 156.
Seleucus I, (Nicator), 31, 122-126, 132, 135.
Seleucus II, 133.
Seleucus, the Chaldean, (astronomer), 229, 490.
Septimius, 240.
Serapion, 242.
Servianus, Lucius Julius Ursus, 494.
Severus, Alexander, Emperor, 287, 325, 327, 335, 341.
Severus, Septimius, Emperor, 286, 296, 300, 305, 343, 344.
Shakespeare, William, 237, 259.
Shelley, Percy B., 75.
Shilleto, A. R., 498.
Shireen, 461.
Simon, Jules, 496.
Skopas, 150.
Socrates, (church historian), 398, 436, 497, 499.
Socrates, (philosopher), 76, 174, 179, 377.
Sophon, 133.
Sosibius, 139-140, 145-149.
Sosigenes, 235.
Sostratus of Cnidus, 3.
Sozomen, 426, 429, 497.
Spartianus, 492, 494,
Spencer, W. G., 488.
Spithridates, 50.
Stephanus, H., 498.
Stevenson, Robert Louis, 398.
Strabo, 7, 18-19, 37, 91, 182, 185-186, 188, 190-191, 194, 229, 230, 237, 331, 336, 477, 479, 480, 486, 488-490.
Strack, M. L., 486.
Strato of Lampsacus, 221.
Suidas. 336, 389, 438, 478, 500.
Suitonius, 236, 248, 290, 294, 491, 492.
Sulla, 18, 479.
Suplicanus, 299.
Suter, H., 483.
Swift, Jonathan, 375, 387.
Synesius, Bishop, 179, 436-438, 500.
Syramus, King of the Triballi, 47.
Syrianus, 322.

Tacitus, Marcus Claudius, Emperor, 286.
Tacitus, Publius Cornelius, (historian), 274, 492.
Tannery, P., 499.
Tatius, Achilles, 20, 389-390, 498.
Tertullian, 173.
Thais, 61, 121.
Thales, 86.
Theocritus, 10, 34, 74-77, 87, 97, 106, 120, 375.
Theodoret, 440, 497.
Theodosius II, Emperor, 287.
Theodosius the Great, Emperor, 287, 427-428, 434.
Theodotus, 140-141, 300.
Theodotus of Chios, 239, 241.
Theon, 409, 420-426.
Theophanes of Mitylene, 191, 489, 490.

Theophilus, Bishop, 427-430, 434, 437.
Theophrastus, 14, 18.
Thornly, G., 498.
Tiberius I, Emperor, 190, 282, 284, 286.
Tiberius II, Emperor, 287.
Tiberius, Alexander, (prefect), 290, 294.
Timochares, (architect), 32.
Timocharis, (astronomer), 98, 102, 103, 226-227.
Timon of Athens, 237-238.
Timon of Phlius, 12, 222.
Timothy, Bishop, 427.
Titus, Emperor, 286, 295, 340.
Tlepolemus, 146-147, 149.
Tracy, S., 487.
Trogus, Gnaeus Pompeius, 480.
Trajan, Emperor, 286, 291, 406.
Tryphon, 198.
Twain, Mark, 375-376, 387, 498.

Uberweg, F., 496.
Underdowne, T., 498.

Vacherot, E., 496.
Valens, Emperor, 287, 373-374, 426.
Valentinian I, Emperor, 287.
Valentinian II, Emperor, 287.
Valentinian III, Emperor, 287.
Valerianus, Emperor, 286.
Valerius, Julius, 327.
Valerius Maximus, 55.
Velleius Paterculus, 491.
Vergil, 75, 83, 93, 282.
Verne, Jules, 387.
Verus, Lucius, Emperor, 286, 385.
Vespasian, Emperor, 286, 294-295, 297, 339, 403.
Victor, Sextus Aurelius, 493.
Vitellius, Emperor, 286, 294.
Vitruvius, 112.
Voltaire, 310-311, 342, 375, 498.
Vopiscus, 492, 494.

Wahaballath, (Athenodorus), 302.
Wahb, Amina Bint, 446.
Weigall, A., 481, 492.
Weil, G., 501.
Werden, 465.
Wertheim, G., 499.
Westfall, J., 479.
Whibley, C., 498.
Whittaker, T., 496.
Wilcken, U., 493.
Wilson, H., 498.
Withington, E. T., 488.
Wolfson, H. A., 496.
Wurm, J. F., 485.

Xanthippe, 174.
Xenophanes of Colophon, 326.
Xenophon, (physician of Emperor Claudius), 163.
Xerxes, 60.
Xiphilinus, 492.

Yourcenar, Marguerite, 495.

Zabda, General, 302.
Zaid, 450.
Zeno, Emperor, 287.
Zeno, the Stoic, 222-223.
Zenobia, Queen, 301-305.
Zenodotus, 17, 77-79, 225.
Zeuxippus, 98, 105.
Zogheb, A. M. de, 479.
Zonaras, 492.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Actium, battle of, 266-269.
Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon, (Tatius), 389-397.
Aesculapius and Apollo, 161-163.
Aitia, or the Crime, (Callimachus), 85.
Alchemy in Egypt, 438.
Alexander, the False Prophet, (Lucian), 384-386.
Alexander's funeral car, 38-39.
Alexander's marches, 45.
Alexander's sarcophagus, 37-39, 41.
Alexandra, (Lycophron), 81-82.
Alexandria, Chap. 1; art in, 28-30, 501; as king-maker, 294-295; 299-300; captured by Moslems, 464-466; earthquake in, 425-427; founding of, 54-55; libraries of, 4, 11, 17-18, 466-467; maps of, (100 B. C. to 100 A. D.), 5; (third and fourth centuries), 419; mathematics in, Chaps. 4 and 16, 414-415; medical science in, 171-173; Museum of, 4, 10, 11-12, 14, 171-173, 414-415; plague of, 300; tumults in, 285, 287-291.
Alexandrian library, destruction of, 466-467.
Algebra, Chap. 16; significance of, 410-412; origin of word, 469.
Algorithm, 469.
Almagest, (Ptolemy), 194, 233, 422, 468.
Anchorites, life of the, 364-370.
Anomoii, (extreme Arians), 360.
Antioch, 135.
Antirrhodus, 3.
Arabella, battle of, 57-58.
Arabia, map of, 447.
Arabian Nights, 468.
Argonautica, the, (Apollonius of Rhodes), 90-94.
Arian controversy, 355-358.
Arimazes, the rock of, 65.
Arithmetic of Nicomachus, (Porphyry), 321-322.
Arithmetica, (Diophantus), 411-412.
Art in Alexandria, 28-30, 501.
Asphodel, use in medicine of, 166.
Assassination of Julius Caesar, 252-254.

Babylon, 59-60.
Banquet, Alexandrian, 32-35.
Banquet pavilion, 26-28.
Banquet of Philosophers, (Athenaeus), 404.
Bustards, 33-34.
Bath of Pallas, (Callimachus), 85.
Battle of Actium, 266-269; of Arabella, 57-58; of Beder, 458-459; of Granicus, 39, 50; of Issus, 52-53; of the Moat, 459.
Beder, battle of, 458-459.

Boulevard Argeus, 4-7; of Serapis, 9.
Bucephalus, taming of, 42-43.
Bucolic poetry, 74.

Calculus, invention of the method of, 115-116.
Calendar, history of, 233-236; Julian, 235; Gregorian, 235.
Calumny, (Apelles and Botticelli), 29-30, 33.
Canal of Alexandria, 9; of Canopus, 7.
Canopic gate, 6.
Canopus, city of, 7-9.
Canopus, street of, 6, 10.
Cattle-problem of Archimedes, 108, 485-486.
Chords, table of, 227-228.
Christian Church, development of, Chap. 14; 343-345.
Christians, persecution of, 305-308.
Chronicles, (Porphyry), 320.
Church History, (Eusebius), 354.
Cibotus, or the Ark, Harbor of, 9.
Civil War, (Roman), 257-259; (in Alexandria), 291-294.
Civil year, 234.
Cleopatra's banquets, 260-262.
Cleopatra's Needles, 248-249, 418.
Clinical history, (Hippocrates), 168.
Coction of Hippocrates, 170.
Colossus of Rhodes, 20; destruction of, 138.
Coma Berenices, (See Hair of Berenice).
Conic sections of Apollonius of Perga, 113-115.
Council of Nicaea, 358-360.
Crow fish, 14.
Ctesiphon, (ancient capital of Persia), 461.
Cyrene, 178-179.

Daphnis and Chloe, Romance of, (Longus), 400-403.
Dastagerd, (palace of Chosroës), 461-462.
Decree of Canopus, 137.
Deferent, 224.
Deipnosophistae, (Athenaeus), 404.
Demiurge, 312, 327.
De Rerum Natura, (Lucretius), 212.
Description of Greece, (Pausanias), 405.
Dicistery, 6.
Diocletian edict, 493-494.
Diophantine problems, 408.
Duplication of the cube, 180-181.

Earth, size of, 102, 183-184, 195, 469.
Earthquake in Alexandria, 425-427.
Easter, date of, 358.
Ecliptic, obliquity of, 469.
Eclogues, (Vergil), 75.
Economics of Alexandria, 493.
Elements of Geometry, (Euclid), 13-16, 226, 422, 468.
Elephants, use in battle of, 141-142.
Eleusis, 7.
Enneads, (Plotinus), 316.

Entelechy, 317.
Epic poetry, 74.
Epicycles, theory of, 223-225.
Equinoxes, precession of, 226-227.
Erigone, (Eratosthenes), 182.
Ethiopica, (Helidorus), 397-400.
Eunostus Harbor, 3, 9.

Fermat's theorem, 413.
Feud of the Ibis, 91-92.
Fire-engine, invention of, 217.
Five-years' Festival, 1, 20-26.
Flight of Mohammed, 456.
Founding of Alexandria, 54-55.

Gate of the moon, (Selene), 6; of the sun, (Helios), 6.
Geneology of the Ptolemies, 128.
Geography, (Eratosthenes) 182; (Ptolemy), 194, 229; (Strabo), 190-191.
Gorgo and Praxinoe, (Theocritus), 75.
Grains of sand in the universe, number of, 106-108.
Granicus, battle of, 39, 50.
Great Harbor, 3, 6.
Greek Bible, origin of the, 130-131, 487.
Gregorian calendar, 235.
Grove of Nemesis, 7.
Gymnasium, 10.

Hair of Berenice, 133-135.
Hair of Berenice, (Callimachus, Catullus), 86.
Harbor, of Eunostus, (Happy Return), 3; of Cibotus, 9.
Hecale, (Callimachus), 85.
Hegira, the, 455-457.
Heliocentric theory of the universe, 103-105, 221-223.
Heptastadium, 3, 9.
Hermes, (Eratosthenes), 182.
Hiero's crown, 109.
Hippodrome, 6.
History of Polybius, 191-194.
History of Rome, (Dio Cassius), 405.
Homoii, (semi-Arians), 360.
Homoousions, (anti-Arians), 359-360.
House of Wisdom, 469.
Hydroscope, 438.

Iambics, (Callimachus), 86.
Ibis, the feud of the, 91-92.
Iliad, (Homer), 44, 77-79, 84.
India, conquest of, 65-68.
Inflations in Alexandria, 493.
Integers, theory of, 408, 413.
Isis, 19.
Issus, battle of, 52-53.

Janus, 278.
Jewish Antiquities, (Josephus), 406.
Jews, persecution of the, 288-293, 436.
Julian calendar, 235.

Kaaba, the, 444-445, 452.
Koran, the, 445, 450-452, 454.

Lament for Adonis, (Bion), 75.
Lever, Archimedes and the, 109.

Library, of Aristotle, 18, 479; of the Museum, 4, 11, 17-18; destruction of, 466-467, 478; of the Serapium, 17.
Light, Archimedes and the theory of, 110.
Lochias, promontory of, 3.
Loculus Archimedes, 96, 119.
Logos, 314, 326.
Lucian's Career, 376-378.
Lunar month, 228, 234.
Lyceum of Athens, 11.
Lyrics of Theocritus, 74.

Magic and the art of healing, 163-167.
Mandrake, 164.
Map of the known world, (Eratosthenes, 187; (Ptolemy), 193, 194-196.
Mareotic wine, 15.
Mareotis, Lake, 6-9, 54, 479.
Marriage of Europe and Asia, 70.
Massacre by Caracalla, 296-297.
Materia Medica, 165.
Mathematical Collections, (Pappus), 414.
Mathematics in Alexandria, Chap. 4, Chap. 16, 414-415.
Mecca, 443-445, 455; temple of, 444.
Medical science, origin of, Chap. 6; in Museum, 171-173.
Meditations of Marcus Aurelius, 298-299.
Menagerie, Alexandrian, 10, 24-25.
Meson Pedion, or Street of Canopus, 6.
Method of Hero in root-extraction, 218.
Metonic cycle, 235.
Metopion, (perfume), 35.
Micromegas, 310.
Moat, battle of the, 459.
Mohammed, birth of, 445-448.
Mohammedanism, Chap. 18.
Monads, 317.
Monastic life, 364-370.
Moon, size of, 102-103; distance of, 104; inequalities of motion of, 233.
Moslem conquest of Egypt, 463-464.
Museum, 4, 10, 11-12; founding of, 14; mathematics in, Chap. 4, Chap. 16, 414-415; medical science in, 171-173.

Naptha, lake of, 61.
Natural History, (Pliny), 166.
Naucrates, 7-8.
Necropolis, gate of, 6.
Neoplatonists, Chap. 12.
Neopythagoreanism, 310.
Nicaea, council of, 358-360.
Nous, 310.
Novel, origin of the, 388-389.
Numbers, large, 105-106; theory of, 408, 413.

Oath of Hippocrates, 169.
Odyssey, (Homer), 54, 77-79, 84.
Old Attic Comedy, (Eratosthenes), 181.
Orator's Guide, (Lucian), 378-381.

Orphic mysteries, 330-333.
Osiris, 19.

Palmyra, (Tadmor), story of, 301-305; observatory of, 469.
Paneum, 4, 19.
Papyrus, 8.
Parabola, quadrature of, 115-116, 483-484.
Parallel Lives, (Plutarch), 403.
Parallel postulate, 16.
Pastoral poetry, 74-77.
Pentateuch, 131.
Perfect numbers, 313.
Perfume, 35.
Persecution of the Christians, 305-308; of the Jews, 288-293, 436.
Phaenomena, (Aratus), 83, 182, 220.
Pharos, 1-3, 15, 478.
Pi, (π), evaluation of, 100, 485.
Plague in Alexandria, 300.
Planetarium of Archimedes, 112-113.
Platonic solids, 16.
Poets of Alexandria, Chap. 3.
Poisons, treatment of, 175-176.
Political instability of Roman Empire, 284-285.
Poseidon, temple of, 4.
Precession of the equinoxes, 226-227.
Ptolemies, geneology of, 128.
Ptolemy's ships, 142-145.
Public gardens, 11.

Regia, the, 6.
Revolt of the Egyptians, 293-294.
Rhacotis, 55.
Riots, Alexandrian, 282-285.
Roman Antiquities, (Dionysius), 405.
Roman emperors, list of, 286-287.
Roman Empire, beginning of, 280-282.
Romance of Daphnis and Chloe, (Longus), 400-403.
Rosetta stone, 150.

Sale of the Philosophies, (Lucian), 381-384.
Science, nature of, 309-310.
Scientific geography, foundations of, 184-188.
Sema, the, 11, 37, 41.
Septuagint, 130-131, 487.
Serapis, 18-19, 295, 430.
Serapium, 9, 18-19, 420; destruction of, 427, 429-430.
Ships of Ptolemy, 142-145.
Siege of Royal Palace, 245-248.
Sieve of Eratosthenes, 180.
Slot-machine, invention of, 206-207.
Sphaerica, (Menelaus), 413.
Sphere and cylinder, volume and surface of, 100.
Spiral of Archimedes, 117-118, 484.
Steam engine, first, 211-213.
Subway of Alexandria, 9.
Sun, size of, 102, 231; distance of, 104, 231.
Susa, 60.
Syracuse, Archimedes and the defense of, 110-112.

Table of Miscellany (Callimachus), 84.
Temple of Serapis, (See Serapium).
Textual criticism, 77-79.
Thais, (Anatole France), 364.
Theater of Alexandria, 3.
Theogony, (Hesiod), 78.
Thule, 186.
Tides, theory of the, 229-231.
Timaeus, (Plato), 229, 312-313, 323-324.
Timonium, the, 237-239.
Toothache, cure of, 165.
Trigonometric functions, computation of, 470.
Tropical solar year, 234.
True Story, (Lucian), 386-388.

Vacuum, nature of the, 207-209.
Voyages of Eudoxus, 188-190.

Wars of the Succession, 123-126; of the brothers, 153-156.
Water organ, 198, 215-216.
Water screw, 112.
Wine-pitcher of Hero, 204-206.

Zeus-Ammon, shrine of, 55-56.

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library
1 1012 01119 1733

DATE DUE

~~[illegible]~~

~~DEC 1 2 [illegible]~~

~~JUN. 1 5 [illegible]~~

GAYLORD
PRINTED IN U.S.A.